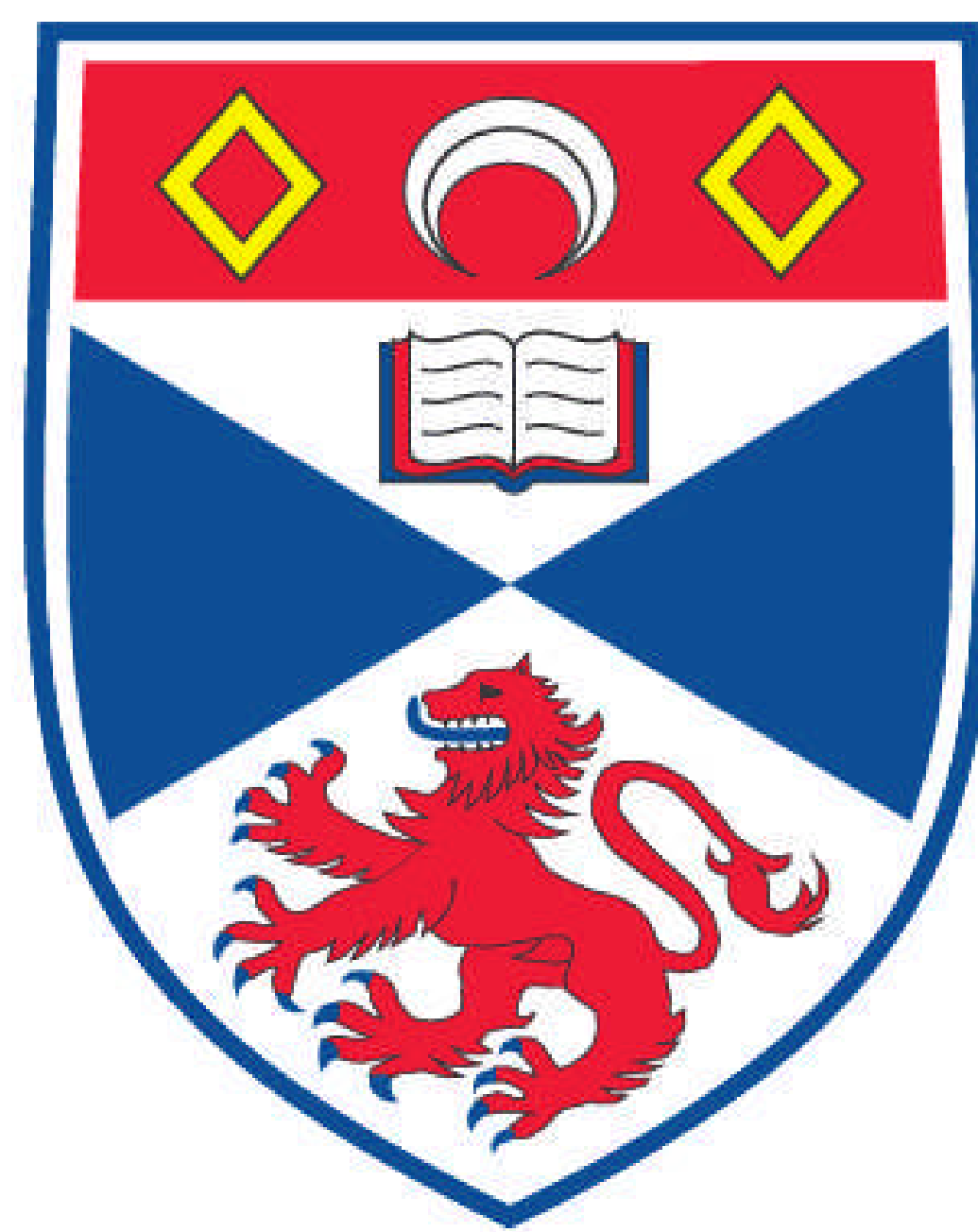


**LOS URBANIZADORES DE AREQUIPA : A STUDY OF THE  
EFFECTS OF URBANIZATION ON QUECHUA FOLKLORE,  
LANGUAGE AND TRADITIONS IN A SOUTHERN PERUVIAN  
CITY**

**Stewart I M Adams**

**A Thesis Submitted for the Degree of PhD  
at the  
University of St. Andrews**



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THE UNIVERSITY OF ST. ANDREWS

LOS URBANIZADORES DE AREQUIPA: A STUDY OF  
THE EFFECTS OF URBANIZATION ON QUECHUA FOLKLORE, LANGUAGE  
AND TRADITIONS IN A SOUTHERN PERUVIAN CITY

A DISSERTATION SUBMITTED TO  
THE FACULTY OF ARTS  
IN CANDIDACY FOR THE DEGREE OF  
DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

CENTRE FOR LATIN AMERICAN LINGUISTIC STUDIES

BY  
STEWART I. M. ADAMS

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ADAMS, STEWART I.M. "Los Urbanizadores de Arequipa: A Study of the Effects of Urbanization on Quechua Folklore, Language and Traditions in a Southern Peruvian City." Ph.D. thesis. St. Andrews, 1979.

The thesis endeavours to assess the changes which have taken place, due to urbanization, in certain fundamental aspects of Quechua culture among migrants from the Southern Peruvian Sierra who have settled in the pueblos jóvenes, "shanty towns" of Arequipa, Peru.

In 7 chapters, based on material taped from 45 Quechua informants, the thesis discusses the urban Quechua community, the survival of the folktale in the urban milieu, evidence for the continuance of a riddling tradition, a folk song tradition, and traditional Quechua belief systems in the city. The thesis also examines the linguistic aspect of Quechua in the urban environment, whether it still constitutes a functional means of communication, and whether the closer proximity to Spanish in the city has resulted in what might be classed as an urban dialect of Quechua.

The thesis concludes that whereas Quechua immigrants to the city have been willing to adapt to city life in its more material aspects, in the more symbolic aspects of their culture, they have been less willing to change. Consequently, many features of Quechua culture appear, for the present, to be thriving in the city. Evidence for the survival of the symbolic aspects of Quechua culture are contained throughout the main body of the thesis in the Quechua transcriptions and English/Spanish translations of interviews given by informants, in the English translations of the riddles, in the synopses of the folktales narrated by the informants, and in the appendices, where the full Quechua transcriptions of some 32 folktales, 36 riddles, and 24 songs are contained.

The thesis maintains that the Quechua immigrants to Arequipa constitute a new subculture which looks to the city for material support, but which is still heavily based on Quechua linguistic and cultural values. There has been a weakening of Quechua language and cultural traits in the city as a result of urbanization, but there does not appear to be the wholesale adoption of "western" ways to the detriment of Indian language and culture as was once suspected.

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## CHAPTER I

### INTRODUCTION

#### Aims

Within the last two decades in Peru, there has been witnessed striking social upheaval as a direct result of the phenomenon of internal migration. This migration involves the decision of large numbers of the indigenous population of Peru, both Quechua and Aymara, leaving their traditional way of life in the mountain areas of the country, the Sierra, to seek a new life in the large urban centres.

Several factors have influenced this decision, factors which Martínez terms factors of expulsion and attraction (Martínez 1969). Demographic growth, for instance, has created a severe shortage of land. The land itself is often barren. Crops frequently fail. On top of this, the indigenous population has frequently been the target of prejudice at the hands of the other sectors of Peruvian society, the Spanish criollo sector, and the mixed mestizo sector. The city, with its real or imagined amenities, better job and educational opportunities, etc. has been seen by many members of the indigenous population as a means to escape the problems of the Sierra, and the label of inferiority which has been placed on him.



The capital, Lima, was the first city to be hit by the sudden influx of the indigenous population, and inevitably chaos was the result. The most basic problem to be faced by the indigenous immigrant was that of housing. Initially there was no organization, and the immigrants merely set up home on any available land, founding in the process the belts of misery and poverty, the shanty towns. Once called barriadas, they are now more euphemistically termed pueblos jóvenes 'young towns'. In point of fact, although there can be no denying that poverty and disease are often rife in these areas, the name coined by the government is not as naive as it at first appears. The slums of today may well become the fashionable neighbourhoods of tomorrow. One has only to compare a newly established pueblo joven, where dwellings are for the most part temporary flimsy constructions, with one of the older ones to realize that some progress has been made. It is true that essentials such as running water, electricity and proper hygiene may be lacking, but the actual housing, in many cases, has improved immensely, it not being uncommon to see houses properly constructed of brick and finished off with plaster. The quality depends very much on the income of the immigrant, and to what extent he has succeeded in obtaining lucrative employment in the city.

Prior to the rise of the pueblos jóvenes, there were fairly rigid social delineations in Peru. At the top of the social scale was the criollo, the Spanish-speaking Peruvian of European descent, and in the main a creature of

the major cities on the coast. Next in line was the mestizo. Of mixed European and Indian blood he also speaks Spanish, but can communicate, when necessary, in Quechua. He tends to inhabit the towns of the Sierra, and generally looks down on the lowest class, the indio, who communicates mostly in Quechua although he may have a rudimentary knowledge of Spanish. In between the Indian and mestizo classes, however, is yet another group despised equally by the Indian and the mestizo, the cholo. This class attempts to escape the "degrading" status of indio by speaking fragmented Spanish and adopting western dress, in short by denying all hints of "indianness". As a consequence, he is scorned by the mestizo as an upstart and hated by the Indian as a traitor.

As a result of the migration phenomenon, however, there has come on to the scene another group comprised of immigrants from the Sierra. They are the founders of the pueblos jóvenes, the urbanizadores, and in essence are "urban indians". It is with this group that this study will principally be concerned.

It is important to look on the immigrant from the Peruvian Sierra, the urbanizador living in the pueblo joven, as an entity in his own right for several reasons. Firstly, he is distinct from his cousin in the Sierra in that he has made a conscious decision to leave his home in the mountains and seek a different way of life. By making that decision, he has in a sense broken the bonds with the past, or put



another way, he seeks to make a transition from his old life based on agricultural subsistence to a new life founded on the acquisition of a job, and the earning of a wage in the industrial and commercial world of the city. This will be discussed in greater detail in Chapter II. Family considerations, as will also be seen, influence the decision to leave the Sierra. Whatever the immigrant's aspirations might be, and whether they are fulfilled, however, is another matter, but at least by making the decision to leave the Sierra and head for the city, he sets himself apart from the Indian in highland Peru who opts to maintain his traditional lifestyle, for one reason or another.

The decision to move does not provide sufficient evidence for the immigrant to be considered as being in a separate and distinct class from his equivalent in the Sierra; other factors have to be looked at to justify this. One factor which does seem to set the immigrant apart from the Sierra Indian, the Criollo, and to some extent from the Mestizo, is the very fact of living in a different social structure, based on the pueblo joven. No longer is he bound by the codes of the mountain village or community, but rather by the new codes formulated for the running of the shanty town. Neither has he entered or attained the position held by the city dwellers of long standing, those of European or mestizo descent living in the city proper. He lives in a completely new system. He is an Indian living in the city but yet not in the city: he is still on the fringe.

The immigrant, then, is "urban" in the sense of being reliant on the city for his livelihood and through having settled in the pueblos jóvenes which surround the city. This is only half of the question, however, for more important is the question of how much of the "indian" remains in the immigrant after contact with city culture, i.e. whether and to what extent the immigrant has retained his linguistic and cultural heritage, whether the urbanization process has resulted in a loss of cultural and linguistic identity, or more precisely whether Quechua language and cultural traditions are disappearing in the city environment.

The purpose of this study, therefore, will be to describe the urban Quechua community, and to try to assess whether the urban Quechua, the urbanizador, is in danger of losing the language and wealth of traditions which he so successfully retained in the Sierra during the conquest, colonial, and early republican periods, or conversely whether his language and culture are still a living force in spite of his having settled in the city. Through material of an ethnographic, folkloric, and linguistic nature collected in several pueblos jóvenes in Southern Peru, therefore, this study will attempt to provide evidence for the presence of a hitherto unknown Quechua cultural and linguistic area in cities such as Arequipa, where the fieldwork for this study was conducted. By showing that many aspects of Quechua language and culture can be found in the pueblos jóvenes, it will be suggested that the inhabi-



tants of these peripheral communities constitute what is in essence an urban Quechua sub-culture.

### The Fieldwork

The fieldwork for this study was conducted in the city of Arequipa, Southern Peru from December 1974 until September 1975. Altogether there were some 660 pueblos jóvenes in Peru which offered possibilities for the collection of samples of Quechua folklore, language, etc., of which 273 were situated in Lima (only 42 of which were 'official'), 80 in Arequipa, 52 in Callao, 42 in Piura, 37 in Ancash, and the rest divided up amongst the other departments of the country. Lima, being the capital, and containing the greatest number of shanty towns, on the surface appeared to offer the greatest opportunity for research. On the other hand, its sheer size, together with the necessity of working with a relatively homogenous linguistic group which Lima, with its hordes of immigrants covering a whole variety of Quechua dialects in both the 'A' and 'B' groups, could not provide, decided against the capital. Arequipa, on the other hand, offered several advantages. In the first place, it contains a sufficiently large group of immigrants from the Departments of Puno, Cuzco, and Apurímac, all of whom culturally and linguistically are relatively homogenous. Secondly, Arequipa was also the industrial and commercial capital of Southern Peru with all the features of an industrial and commercial city, but without the difficulties of mobility to be found in Lima. Arequipa also had the

advantage of having received the greatest influx of immigrants after Lima, and because of this, it could be considered as being very representative of the complex social, economic, linguistic, and cultural problems arising from the contact between two widely differing cultures, a contact brought about by the migration phenomenon.

Having settled on Arequipa as the main area of study, the next problem to be resolved was the selection of pueblos jóvenes in which to conduct the fieldwork. Contact was established with Asociación de Urbanizaciones Populares y Pueblos Jóvenes de Arequipa (A.U.P.A.), the organization of pueblos jóvenes in the city. Through this organization, initial contact was made with community leaders in the pueblo joven of Cuatro de Octubre, a small fairly recently established shanty town on the south side of the city. Later, contacts were made in the pueblos jóvenes of La Tomilla, Manco Capac, Hunter and in the city itself. From this point on, the process of selecting Informants and collecting data for the corpus began.

#### a) Selection of Informants

In selecting informants, care had to be taken to ensure that a truly representative cross-section of the Quechua immigrant population was obtained. The Informants who appear in subsection b) below, therefore, are believed to be a typical sample of the immigrant population as a whole in Arequipa. They favour no particular sex, nor age group; have lived for varying periods of time in Arequipa; have varying linguistic



abilities, although most would be classed as subordinate bilinguals with Quechua as a first language, and Spanish as a second language; and come from different areas in the southern highland area of Peru, mostly from the Departments of Puno and Cuzco, although some come from Apurimac, and from the Department of Arequipa itself. Altogether, a total of 45 Informants was finally reached.

Several objectives were sought from the informants. Firstly, by means of informal interviews, some indication of life in the pueblo joven was gathered. This was reinforced by observation during visits to the pueblos jóvenes. A second, more important consideration was the collection from the Informants of material which would serve as evidence for a continuing (or otherwise) Quechua linguistic and cultural presence in the city. Here Informants were asked if they could relate folk tales in Quechua, tell riddles, or if they knew any Quechua songs. Other indications of Quechua cultural survival were sought especially in relation to religious belief. Informants were asked what they knew about certain fundamental aspects of the Quechua belief system. From the taped replies, an indication of the nature and extent of the survival of Quechua religious belief and practice in the city was formed. Where the more concrete cultural indicators were unobtainable, such as the ability to tell folktales, the interviews in which the Informants talked about themselves and their past history helped create some impression of the individual's attitude and loyalty



towards his Quechua cultural origins. All of the interviews and folk material were taped in the field on compact cassette, and later transcribed. The interviews, where possible, were conducted in Quechua. Assistance both with the Quechua interviews and with the transcription was provided by Informant #45. The taped interviews and ethnographic material also had the double function of providing samples of Quechua for linguistic analysis with the purpose of ascertaining the linguistic situation of Quechua in the urban environment. While it was not possible to transcribe all the material collected, nor to include all of the material in this study, a total of 60 folktales, 22 songs, and 33 riddles in Quechua were collected together with approximately 36 narratives in both Spanish and Quechua about various aspects of Quechua culture and life in the pueblos jóvenes. The following is a list of the informants who supplied the material for the corpus.

b) List of Principal Informants

<u>Informant #1</u>	D. Cayllahua. Male. Age 40. Originally from Cuzco, now lives in the <u>pueblo joven</u> of <u>La Tomilla</u> . Has spent 33 years in Arequipa. Bilingual Quechua/Spanish. Literate. Tannery worker. Narrated one story in Quechua.
<u>Informant #2</u>	R. Ramos. Male. Age 30. From Ayaviri, Puno, now lives in <u>La Tomilla</u> . Recent immigrant to Arequipa. Works in civil construction. Bilingual Quechua/Spanish. Narrated one story in Quechua. Literate.
<u>Informant #3</u>	M. Ramos. Female. Age 29. Wife of #2. Bilingual Quechua/Spanish with accent more on Quechua. Illiterate. Narrated one story in Quechua.

- Informant #4 M. Q'asi Chaupi. Female. Age 44. From Viraco, Province of Castilla, Department of Arequipa. 15 years spent in Arequipa. Bilingual Quechua/Spanish, with accent on Quechua. Domestic. Lives in. Illiterate. Narrated three folk tales in Quechua, and gave an account of some aspects of Quechua religious belief.
- Informant #5 D. Yayki. Male. Age 12. From Yauri, Department of Cuzco. Now lives in Village of Carmen Alto. Bilingual Quechua/Spanish. Narrated one story in Quechua.
- Informant #6 A. P. Quispe. Male. Age 35. Originally from Cuzco, now lives in Carmen Alto. Bilingual Quechua/Spanish, but more fluent in the former. Narrated one story and sang one song in Quechua. Time in Arequipa area unknown. Illiterate.
- Informant #7 T. Huilca. Male. Age 44. From Cuzco, now living in La Tomilla. Has spent about 20 years in Arequipa. Runs his own cobbler's business in La Tomilla. Bilingual Quechua/Spanish with Quechua being the stronger. Literate. Narrated eleven stories in Quechua and gave various accounts of certain aspects of Quechua culture.
- Informant #8 G. Gihuellanca. Male. Age 53. Originally from Puno, now lives in the pueblo joven of Cuatro de Octubre. Has spent approximately 15 years in Arequipa. No fixed job, but was observed working on a building project in the city centre. Quechua/Spanish bilingual with marked interference both in Spanish and in Quechua. Illiterate. Narrated eleven stories in Quechua and gave various accounts of several aspects of Quechua culture both in Quechua and in Spanish.
- Informant #9 E. López. Male. Age 28. Originally from Mamara, Department of Apurimac. Spent 7 years in Lima, but has spent last 10 years in Arequipa where he now lives in Cuatro de Octubre. Bilingual in Quechua/Spanish. Literate. Answered questions on various aspects of his life and Quechua culture. Sang one song in Quechua.



Informant #10

N. Chuqwanka. Female. Age 45. Originally from Sicuani, Department of Cuzco, but now lives in Arequipa where she has spent the last 10 years. Is a resident of Cuatro de Octubre. Bilingual in Quechua and Spanish. Illiterate. One of the few [Informants who still wore traditional dress. Answered questions on various aspects of her life, and on some aspects of Quechua religious belief. Claimed she did not know any stories, riddles, or songs.

Informant #11

M. Sánchez. Male. Age 48. Originally from Azángaro, Department of Puno. Bilingual in Quechua/Spanish. Claims to be able to read a little. Now lives in Cuatro de Octubre, but has spent a total of 20 years in Arequipa. Is an agricultural worker, but has held various jobs, including driving an ice-cream cart. Answered questions about his life and about Quechua culture (in Quechua). Claimed not to know any stories or examples of folklore in general.

Informant #12

M. Cahua García. Age 40. Originally from Azángaro, Department of Puno, but now lives in Cuatro de Octubre, where he was secretario general during the course of the fieldwork. Quechua/Spanish bilingual, and claims to understand Aymara although not to speak it. Answered some questions about life in Cuatro de Octubre in Spanish. Has spent 10 years in Arequipa.

Informant #13

C. Cuno Machaca. Age 22. Male. Originally from Cuzco but now lives in Cuatro de Octubre, Arequipa, where he lives with his uncle. Time spent in Arequipa is unknown. Quechua/Spanish bilingual. Unable to tell any stories but sang 3 songs to a mandolin accompaniment in Quechua.

Informant #14

J. Supa Uracahua. Age 29. Male. Originally from Chumbivilcas, Department of Cuzco, but now lives in Cuatro de Octubre where he was trying to get official approval for his lote. Has spent a total of 22 years in Arequipa. Fully bilingual in Quechua and Spanish, he is also well educated. Now works in the Lanificio textile factory situated only a few minutes from his home in Cuatro de Octubre. Narrated one substantial story in Quechua, sang four Quechua songs, and discussed various aspects of life in the pueblo joven, and Quechua culture.



- Informant #15 A. Torres González. Female. Age 13. From Puno, but now lives in Cuatro de Octubre. Sang two songs in Quechua by herself, and two with a friend, Informant #23.
- Informant #16 J. Flores. Female. Age 20. Not a resident, but was visiting Arequipa because her husband was working in the Majes Valley. Briefly talked about herself in Quechua.
- Informant #17 Anonymous Informant. Male. Age 12. Sang one song in Quechua.
- Informant #18 A. Huilca. Male. Age 17. Son of Informant #7. Bilingual in Quechua and Spanish. Was born in Arequipa. Goes to secondary school, and has ambitions of working in electronics. Narrated two riddles in Quechua and a brain teaser.
- Informant #19 F. Huilca. Male. Age 28. Nephew of T. Huilca, Informant #7. Personal details lacking. From Cuzco, but has not settled permanently in the Arequipa area. Quechua/Spanish bilingual, but claims to mostly use Spanish.
- Informant #20 F. Guevara. Male. Age 40. Originally from Puno, but now lives in Cuatro de Octubre. Has spent a total of 22 years in Arequipa where he is an employee in a school where he also attends night classes. Provided some details about his life in both Spanish and Quechua.
- Informant #21 M. Juanca Qoylla. Male. Age 30. Originally from the Department of Puno. Has spent 14 years in Arequipa and was looking for a lot in Cuatro de Octubre. Quechua/Spanish bilingual. Narrated two riddles, but in Spanish, not Quechua, and provided some details about his life in Spanish.
- Informant #22 J. Banda. Male. Age 15. Originally from Cuzco, but now lives in Urbanización San Martín which adjoins Cuatro de Octubre where he has relatives. Bilingual Quechua/Spanish. Reticent about using Quechua. Goes to school in Arequipa.

- Informant #23 S. Condori. Female. Age 18. Originally from Arapa, Province of Azangaro, Department of Puno, but now lives in Cuatro de Octubre. Bilingual in Quechua and Spanish. Works as a domestic. Sang 3 songs in Quechua, narrated a story, and told a riddle. Has spent a year in Arequipa.
- Informant #24 S. Torres. Age 8. Male. From Arapa, Department of Puno, but now lives in Cuatro de Octubre. Attends primary school and claims to have reached fourth grade. Quechua/Spanish bilingual. Narrated two stories in Quechua and spoke about himself in Spanish.
- Informant #25 E. Paqo. Male. Age 19. From Sicuani, Department of Cuzco. Quechua/Spanish bilingual. Well educated. Claimed not to be able to narrate any folktales in Quechua, but surprisingly, later provided a folktale written in Quechua which he had translated from a Spanish version found in a book. This he read and it was recorded on tape. The informant also painted the main character from the story, the Rumi Moqo 'the man with the stone knee', in the grotesque art style currently in vogue. The story has not been included because it is not truly a genuine folk tale, or example of oral literature.
- Informant #26 P. Turpu. Male. Age 12. Born in Arequipa. Speaks both Spanish and Quechua and has reached fourth grade. His parents are from Puno.
- Informant #27 S. Leqe. Male. Age 23. From Puno, but has spent 3 years in Arequipa where he lives in Cuatro de Octubre. Works as a carpenter. Bilingual in Quechua and Spanish. Sang one song in Quechua.
- Informant #28 R. Condori. Female. Age 22. From Cuzco, but has spent the last four years in Arequipa in Cuatro de Octubre. Quechua/Spanish bilingual. Sang one song in Quechua.
- Informant #29 N. Velasco Sevayas. Male. Age 25. Although an Aymara/Spanish bilingual from Puno, he provided some information about life in Cuatro de Octubre.



- Informant #30 M. Zúniga. Male. Age 55. From Caylloma, Department of Arequipa, has spent 2 years in the city of Arequipa where he lives with his daughter in Cuatro de Octubre. Quechua/Spanish bilingual. Gave a short interview on various topics. Claims to be literate.
- Informant #31 D. Contreras. Male. Age 19. A recent arrival to Arequipa, having only spent 3 months there. Works as an ayudante de carro. Quechua/Spanish bilingual from Apurímac. Has studied up to fifth grade. Talked a little about himself, but reticent about discussing anything to do with Quechua.
- Informant #32 N. Rojas. Male. Age 29. Originally from Villille, Province of Santo Tomás, Department of Cuzco. Has now spent four years in Arequipa in Cuatro de Octubre. Works as an engineer in the Lanificio Textile factory. Quechua/Spanish bilingual. Narrated one story in Quechua, three non-traditional narratives, and two riddles.
- Informant #33 M. Torres. Originally from Puno. Quechua/Spanish bilingual with Spanish being learned from the age of 3. Educated up to fifth grade. Narrated one story in Quechua. Age 19.
- Informant #34 C. Ortiz. Female. Age 29. Has lived in other pueblos jóvenes in Arequipa, e.g. Simon Bolívar and Hunter before moving to Cuatro de Octubre where she has spent the last four years. Quechua/Spanish bilingual. Illiterate. Spoke in Quechua about life in the pueblo joven, and about some aspects of Quechua culture.
- Informant #35 P. Turpu. Male. Age 40. From Puno originally, he has lived the last 3 years in Cuatro de Octubre. Quechua/Spanish bilingual. Illiterate. Construction worker. Gave one non-traditional narrative in Quechua, sang a song in Quechua, and told two Quechua folk-tales.
- Informant #36 C. Ortiz. Female. Age 39. Originally from Quillabamba, Department of Cuzco, has lived in Arequipa for 20 years. Lives in the Miraflores district of the city. Works as a domestic in several houses in the city. Quechua/Spanish bilingual, the latter of which she learned at the age of 10. Narrated two short stories in Quechua, and



three riddles. Also spoke about various aspects of Quechua culture. With Informant #41 she performed a little dialogue in Quechua about two people, one of whom seeks help from the other in the ploughing of her field.

Informant #37

F. Tayro. Female. Age 16. Originally from Sicuani, Department of Cuzco, has lived for the last four years in the Umacollo district of Arequipa where she works as a domestic along with her sister, Informant #38. Bilingual in Quechua and Spanish, and literate. Sang 3 songs in Quechua, and narrated one story, and two riddles.

Informant #38

J. Tayro. Female. Age 19. Personal details as for her sister, Informant #37. Conversed in Quechua about her family and Sierra background. Provided two non-traditional narratives.

Informant #39

J. Qoino Fuentes. Male. Age 37. From Department of Puno, but now lives in Cuatro de Octubre. Quechua/Spanish bilingual. Talked in Spanish and Quechua about the fiestas in Cuatro de Octubre and about the committee elections in the pueblo joven.

Informant #40

C. González. Female. Age 65. Has now lived 10 years in Arequipa. Originally from Abancay, Department of Apurimac. Told nine riddles. Now lives in the pueblo joven Manco Capac. Is monolingual in Quechua.

Informant #41

S. de Palacios. Female. Age 36. Has spent a total of 15 years in Arequipa. Lives in Manco Capac. Quechua/Spanish bilingual. Supplied two accounts in Quechua regarding Quechua belief plus a dialogue in Quechua with informant #36.

Informant #42

J. Conchuri. Male. Age 28. From Apurimac originally, but has lived approximately 10 years in Manco Capac. Works in a restaurant kitchen. Quechua/Spanish bilingual. Narrated one folktale in Quechua, supplied personal data about his life, and also narrated a story which he claimed to be true about a condenado.

- Informant #43 D. Cáceres Machaca. Female. Age 16. Originally from Azángaro, Department of Puno, now lives in pueblo joven of Hunter, in Arequipa, where she has spent about a year. Bilingual in Quechua and Spanish, she has studied up to fourth grade primary, and is continuing her studies in Arequipa. Narrated 11 folk-tales in Quechua, sang one song in Quechua, and told one riddle.
- Informant #44 R. Puma Kursi. Age 22. Male. From Cuzco, but is a student at San Agustín University, Arequipa. Lives in downtown Arequipa. Quechua/Spanish bilingual. Narrated 3 substantial Quechua folk-tales.
- Informant #45 C. Argüelles. Age 22. Male. Originally from Cotahuasi, Department of Arequipa. Spanish/Quechua bilingual with the latter a second language. This Informant claimed to have a receptive knowledge of Quechua as a child, but only learned to speak it as an adult. An invaluable Informant both during field excursions when he helped allay some of the fears of the interviewees, and subsequently, when he helped transcribe much of the material. A highly intelligent and motivated individual who eventually succeeded in acquiring a scholarship to study in the U.S.A. Like Informant #44, he was a student at San Agustín University. He also told 4 riddles in Quechua.

#### Historical Background to Arequipa

Evidence of human inhabitation in the Arequipa area goes back as far as 7,600 years B.C., but it is only after the birth of Christ that we begin to see any uniformity of cultural development in Arequipa with the archaeological remains attesting to the transition between the Paracas and Nazca cultures found at the Camaná bridge, Ocoña, Charcana in the province of La Unión, Corral Redondo, Toro Muerto, and Toro Grande, as well as with the Tiahuanaco or Huari-influenced remains found at Quilcapampa la Vieja, and Alto Betancourt. Later remains have been discovered at Mejía, Poza Encantada,



Guardiola, and Chuquibamba. Remains showing the influence of the Inca culture which dates from 1300 A.D. are in evidence in places such as Tampu-Ayllu, Chuquibamba, Picchu Picchu, San Juan de Tarucani, etc. (I.O.P.P.E.-S.A. 1967:122).

Legend has it that the name 'Arequipa' stems from the Quechua words, Arí, quepay, meaning 'Yes, stay!', spoken by the Inca Mayta Capac to a group of his officers who had expressed a desire to stay in the area while returning from the conquest of the inhabitants of Moquegua, and that subsequently, the Inca sent colonists down to settle in the region, founding townships which still exist today under the names of Cayma, Yanahuara, Paucarpata, etc. This, and the other theories as to the origin of the work are matters for pure conjecture. What does seem fairly certain, however, is that before the advent of the Spanish, the Inca settlement was little more than a stopping off point on journeys to and from the coast. It was with the arrival of the Spanish that the area began to take on more importance as a place for colonization.

The first Spaniards to reach Arequipa were the Dominican fathers, Pedro de Ulloa, Diego Manso, and Bartolomé de Ojeda. Diego de Almagro with his army passed through the region en route to Chile, and it was not long before he was followed by Pizarro with his army. Although Pizarro is said to have planned the foundation of the city, he is reputed to have had to return to Cuzco to deal with the rebellion of Manco Inca, and consequently the founding of the city was placed in the hands of his lieutenant, Manuel de Carbajal.



The Spanish population living in Camaná at that time was moved to the site of the city to be, and on the 15th on August, 1540, Villa Hermosa del Valle de Arequipa, or Arequipa as it is now known, was founded. Charles V granted the new township a coat of arms and city status in 1541, and so was begun the domination of Spanish culture which has persisted up until the present day (I.O.P.P.E.-S.A. 1967:123-4).

This cultural domination is not quite so surprising when we consider that Arequipa was the principal centre for the white population in Peru during the Colonial era. Of the 37,000 inhabitants during the reign of the Viceroy Gil y Lemos 22,000 were Spanish, about 6,000 were Indian, 5,000 mestizo, and the rest made up of freed men and slaves. In contrast, during the same period, of Lima's 62,000 inhabitants only about 18,000 were Spanish (I.O.P.P.E.-S.A. 1967:126). Of course, Arequipa can never completely be considered Spanish in that the early period in its Colonial history saw a blending and a mixing of Spanish and indigenous cultural elements. Nevertheless, there can be little doubt that what indigenous features are to be seen in Arequipa's cultural history have been vastly overshadowed by Spanish cultural traditions, manifest chiefly in the areas of language, architecture, art, music, and religion, with the white Arequipeño himself reflecting the thoughts and attitudes prevalent among his counterparts in Spain.

Although today the centre of the city still serves as a reminder of Arequipa's past based on Spanish traditions, and of its future oriented towards twentieth century concepts

in business, commerce, architecture, and civic ammenities, one has only to look at the expanding number of pueblos jóvenes encircling the city to realize that Arequipa is faced with vast problems of an economic and social nature, and that she is undergoing rapid changes in ethnic appearance and cultural formation.

Whereas in the past, the appearance of indigenous people from the Sierra, and the use of Quechua in the streets and markets of Arequipa, was considered as being a rarity, and a transient phenomenon, today it is coming to be accepted, albeit grudgingly, as the norm, and those Quechua speakers who were once only temporary migrants are now, more often than not, residents in Arequipa, and the parents of a new breed of Arequipeño with cultural traditions based on those of the Sierra.

#### Physical and Economic Background to Arequipa

Several features have favoured Arequipa as a focal point for migration and settlement by Quechuas and Aymaras from the Sierra. These factors of a climatic, geographic, economic, medical, educational, and social nature in combination with certain features of the Sierra environment itself have served to attract large numbers of people from the mountains and have contributed to a rapid increase in demographic growth in Arequipa, and to the rise of the pueblos jóvenes.

The city of Arequipa is situated some 634 miles south of the capital, Lima, at an altitude of 7,661 feet. It is in essence an oasis of fertile agricultural and grazing land



surrounded by the peaks of Chachani (20,000 ft.), El Misti (19,150 ft.), and Picchu Picchu (17,800 ft.) on its northern rim, and by arid desert terrain more typical of the coastal zone on its southern border.

Climatically speaking, the city enjoys a mean temperature of 68 degrees F. during the day, and 55 degrees F. at night. Being situated in an arid zone, Arequipa experiences very little rain throughout the year except during the summer months from December to March. Even then, however, rain is unreliable, and tends to come in short, sudden, electric storms which often wreak havoc with the crops and human settlements, especially in the higher reaches of the Department. On the whole, however, the area in the immediate vicinity of the city of Arequipa is excellent for farming and stock rearing with the aid of irrigation provided by the River Chili which passes through the city. Maize, potatoes, wheat, and market garden produce tend to be the principal crops, but most important of all, perhaps, is the cultivation of the important fodder crop, alfalfa, which has led to the area achieving importance as a milk and stock producer, permitting the establishment of large industrial plants such as Leche Gloria, which cans and exports milk to other areas of Peru, as well as providing Arequipa's important leather industry with raw materials. Agriculture has played a significant role in attracting some immigrants from the Sierra. The setting up of vast irrigation schemes such those of Majes, Sihuas, and Pampa la Joya, has provided, and will provide in the future,



work for people from the Sierra. In theory at least, these projects will allow once arid territory to become suitable for settlement and cultivation by people from the over-crowded Sierra areas of Cuzco, Puno and Arequipa.

Whichever way one looks at the immigrant situation in Arequipa, it is what the city has to offer as a city and not the land surrounding it which has brought most immigrants down from the Southern Sierra. Industrially, Arequipa is second only to Lima. Taking the country as a whole, and looking at it with reference to the Southern Region which comprises the Departments of Arequipa, Moquegua, Tacna, Apurimac, Cuzco, Madre de Dios, Puno, and the province of Parinacochas in the Department of Ayacucho, it produces 4/5ths of the regional total in terms of gross value of production. Most of the industry of Arequipa consists of the production of consumer goods, with food products featuring very highly. Other important industries in the immediate vicinity of Arequipa are the leather industry, textiles, with a large emphasis placed on alpaca products, and the assembly of electronic goods, televisions, radios, etc. The cement works at Yura, to the north of Arequipa, is also important, as is the brewery, Cervecería del Sur.

The setting up of an industrial estate in 1966 did a lot to attract industry to Arequipa. The Department of Arequipa, but more specifically, the City of Arequipa, together with its port of Matarani, makes up the highest proportion of commercial activity in the Southern Region, which implies

that a high level of decisions of an economic order, buying and selling, are derived from the flow of goods and services towards Arequipa. Banking in Arequipa is again second only to that of Lima. The tourist industry has also grown considerably in recent years, and this is reflected in the number of hotels, restaurants, etc., to be found in the city. In short, many of the immigrants from the Sierra are attracted to the city by the possibility of finding work in the factories and service industries of the city as well as by the possibility of working as domestics in the homes of middle and upper class white Arequipeños.

From the point of view of education, Arequipa is well endowed with primary and secondary schools, and has two universities of note, San Agustín and La Católica. The possibility of achieving a better education for their children in the city has led to not a few immigrants settling in Arequipa, or, in some cases, sending their children to the city to be educated.

Medical and health facilities in Arequipa are also good compared with the rest of the country, and this may have had some influence, albeit small, in the choice of Arequipa as a place to settle. Probably the most important reason, after that of job opportunity, for people leaving the Sierra and heading to Arequipa, is the attraction of the 'bright lights' which the city has to offer. Immigrants, on the surface at least, are generally seeking to leave their old lifestyle behind and aspiring towards the culture of the



twentieth century, with its cinemas, cantinas, and centres of entertainment in general. Here Arequipa has much more to offer than the towns in the Sierra.

One very important factor in the choice of Arequipa by immigrants is its lines of communication. It is linked by road and especially by rail to Cuzco (with numerous indigenous townships en route) and to Juliaco and Puno. Road communication is, frankly, bad, but in contrast, the rail service is relatively cheap and good. There are also other road links with various parts of the Sierra in the Department of Arequipa itself, serving provinces such as Cailloma and Castilla. Lastly, Arequipa has good air and road links with Lima. As with shanty towns in other urban situations throughout the world, it is interesting that most of the pueblos jóvenes in Arequipa have grown up along the main access routes into the city both road and rail. Arequipa, then, has much that favours the attraction of Quechua immigrants, but what happens to people from peasant cultures like the Quechuas when they uproot themselves and settle in an urban environment? Something needs to be said regarding the theory of the effects of urbanization on peasant cultures in general, and with more specific reference to the Peruvian situation.

#### Peasants in Urban Environments - Theoretical Background

The interest of anthropologists in recent years has shifted from the study of isolated peasant communities in their rural setting to urban environments and to the results of the contact of peasant cultures with these environments. Redfield's

theories based on his work in Yucatan of the so-called "folk-urban continuum" in which he envisaged human society as being rigidly arranged along a line ranging from primitive culture at one end, to urban culture at the other, has been largely rejected (Redfield 1941 and 1947). Essentially, Redfield saw folk societies as remaining unchanged if left in isolation, and that change only occurred as a result of contact with urban society. In short, Redfield saw the contact of peasant societies with the city as being detrimental to them.

Over the years a considerable body of literature has arisen in the field of urban anthropology. Gutkind has compiled a useful "Bibliography of Urban Anthropology" (Gutkind 1973:425). While it would be wrong to suggest that this shows all peasant societies that come in contact with cities as surviving relatively intact, there is increasing evidence to support the position that many peasant cultures that come in contact with cities are far from being destroyed in the process, are able to withstand the contact, and retain much of their culture and folk ways. Lewis, in his work among Tepozteco migrants in Mexico City, was the first major figure to show that this was so (Lewis 1952, 1957, 1959 and 1965). Lewis basically regarded the Indian immigrant living in Mexico City as "an urban peasant with relatively little change in culture" (King 1967:532).

Beals also attests to the ability of the Indian immigrant in Mexico to maintain his cultural identity, even when faced with strong government pressure to make him change (Beals



1967:465). Butterworth, with regards to Mixtec migrants, shows that they too retain much of their identity, while readily accepting what the city has to offer (Butterworth 1970:98-113). Some forms of cultural expression, however, are lost, such as religious expression, and the use of folk medicine. Family and social ties are, on the other hand, strongly maintained. With regard to the survival of peasant ways in the city in different situations throughout the world, Mangin states:

The voluminous literature, including hundreds of excellent novels and stories from all over the world, on the adaptation of agricultural peasant groups to urban and industrial life shows, again, remarkable persistence of peasant village patterns, cultural values, and beliefs - two, three, or even four generations after the initial migration away from the peasant community. (Mangin 1970:xix)

With reference to Peru in particular, while Martínez has studied the causes and nature of rural-urban migration, most of the major studies of immigrants in the urban environment, the barriada movement, etc., have been conducted by Mangin, Doughty, and Turner in the capital, Lima (Martínez 1969; Mangin 1959, 1970 and 1973; Mangin and Turner 1968; Doughty 1970 and 1972). As with urbanization literature in general, the two opposing themes of disintegration and denial of culture, in contrast to cultural maintenance in the city and adjustment to city life, appear in the Peruvian case regarding Quechua migrants. Patch, focussing his attention on the immigrants living in the inner city slums, demonstrates the denial of Quechua identity by the immigrant, and the attempt to emulate the criollo culture (Patch 1967a and 1967b). Mangin acknowledges that

there is indeed a vast difference in outlook between the immigrant slum dweller and the inhabitant of the barriada (pueblo joven), even though they are from similar backgrounds, the latter being optimistic and progressive, while the former suffers from "depression and alienation" (Mangin 1970:xxix). This Mangin attributes to organization in the formation and founding of the barriadas, to united community effort, which, in the case of the slum dweller, is much weaker or non-existent. Both Mangin and Doughty agree that while in the past there may have been denial of Quechua culture, there is now a tendency towards pride in Quechua origins, and a maintenance of Quechua cultural attributes. Mangin sees:

. . . a strong Quechua mountain nationalism developing which is affecting the national culture as well as revising the attitude of many cholos toward Indian culture and reducing the shame attached to speaking Quechua and exhibiting publicly preference for Indian customs and tastes. (Mangin 1973:322)

while Doughty writes, again with reference to migrants in Lima:

Twenty five years ago, it was commonplace to find highlanders rejecting their traditions outright. Today, however, with the tremendous wave of migration to the city, highland culture has become more respectable, and the pressure for rapid assimilation has declined to some degree. In consequence, the situation facing the individual migrant in Peru is complex, and one must be startled not by the fact that there is apparent social chaos and anomie at times but that so many individuals are indeed able to retain their integrative structures or to reorganize their lives in meaningful ways. (Doughty 1970:32)

Migration to the cities can be a negative destructive process for some rural cultures, and one sees the disintegration and breakdown of valid worthwhile cultural features when peasants move to cities. On the other hand, the opposite, as would



seem to be indicated above, can also take place with many peasant ways, their language, folklore, and traditions being maintained when they move to cities. This appears to be the case with Quechua immigrants who have moved to Lima. It is now time to look at the Arequipa situation, and to examine more specifically those aspects of Quechua culture which are to be found among immigrants in the pueblos jóvenes there, and any evidence of change and loss which may, or may not, be occurring. First of all, the "Urban Quechua Community" is examined.

## CHAPTER II

### THE URBAN QUECHUA COMMUNITY

Before looking at the effects of urbanization on the more symbolic aspects of Quechua culture as exemplified by folk literature, beliefs and practices, and on language, it is necessary to examine those changes which have occurred in the more material aspects of Quechua culture and lifestyle due to the transition from a rural way of life to an urban lifestyle. The premise held by Redfield and later rejected by him that the urbanization process has a totally disruptive effect on folk societies failed to take into account the difficulty of distinguishing between interior and exterior factors of change. As Press states:

"Outside" or urban phenomena hold no monopoly on disruptive consequences, nor do traditional influences on continuity. (Press 1975:20)

In other words, it is important not to regard the urbanization process as implying the demise of all that, in the case of rural communities such as the Quechua, can be classed as "folk". Changes do occur as a consequence of urbanization, it is true, but many facets of folk culture can and do remain, as will be shown later. Even in the large metropolises of the United States, there are to be found features of society which are truly "folk", notably the Black church, and the continuance of



folk medicine and religion among Cubans and white immigrants from the Southern Mountains (Paredes and Stekert 1971). Beals, speaking of rural Indian communities in Mexico and the effects of urbanization on them, attests to the fact that resistance to acculturation is strongest in "most aspects of the social system, and in those parts of culture having symbolic values", whereas in the more material non-symbolic aspects of their culture the situation is quite the reverse with their ready acceptance of modern technological innovations like electricity, sewing machines, etc. (Beals 1967:466). This chapter will attempt to show how and to what extent traditional patterns are retained and modern ones adopted with regards to the "non-symbolic" facets of Quechua culture. In other words, the question is being asked as to whether the Quechua community in Arequipa is an urban community or merely a folk community situated in an urban environment.

### The Pueblo Joven

Although some immigrants as a consequence of finding work as domestics live in the homes of their employers in the city of Arequipa proper, the vast majority of Quechua immigrants to Arequipa live in the pueblo joven, or shanty town. This is highly significant, as in essence the pueblo joven is to the city what the village is to the rural areas of the Sierra. The pueblo joven, to all intents and purposes, is an urban 'village' populated by a people of like cultural, linguistic and ethnic background. They are for the most part isolated from the Spanish-oriented culture of the city proper.

Community cohesion, as will be seen later, is very strong and loyalty is directed towards the pueblo joven where one is located rather than towards the city as a whole. In many cases the inhabitants of a pueblo joven all come from the same village or town in the Sierra, and in the case of the pueblo joven of Jorge Chavez, virtually all of the inhabitants were Aymara rather than Quechua. In Cuatro de Octubre and La Tomilla, where much of this study was conducted, there were also some Aymara inhabitants, although most inhabitants were Quechua.

Much has been made of the poverty in the shanty towns, and of the lack of basic amenities, utilities and sanitation. Although this cannot be denied, and conditions are harsh, they are no more severe than the conditions that have been experienced in the Sierra. The Quechua urbanizador, while admitting that the conditions under which he lives are hard, sees the move to the pueblo joven as a step forward. The granting of a lote, or plot of land, in the shanty town is the foundation on which the immigrant can build his future and make improvements as his economic position improves.

Whereas in the Sierra, shortage of land was the problem, in the pueblo joven shortage of materials to build houses is a major difficulty to be faced.

The threat of natural disaster is not as severe in the pueblo joven as in the Sierra where adverse weather conditions can mean the destruction of one's food supply. Nonetheless, when a natural disaster does occur, e.g. an earthquake,



or, more infrequently in Arequipa, torrential rains, its effects are felt most in the shanty towns. Heavy rains in February 1975 resulted in several people losing their lives when their flimsy homes were literally washed off the sandy hillsides where they were located.

For the immigrant, however, the advantages of living in the pueblo joven outweigh the disadvantages. He has a place to build a home of his own, and access, in theory at least, to urban employment possibilities, and educational possibilities for his children. All of these were at best hard to find in the Sierra where, prior to the most recent land reform programme, the Quechua found himself living at a subsistence level on land which belonged to an absentee landlord who lived in the city. None of the informants expressed any desire to move back permanently to the Sierra even although things were far from perfect in the city. The move towards national culture had been taken and there was no going back. The fruits of the city had been tasted and enjoyed.

Typical of the 88 pueblos jóvenes which were in existence in 1975 were La Tomilla and Cuatro de Octubre. To reach La Tomilla, which lies to the north of Arequipa proper, one takes a microbus from the centre of town which takes one across the Puente Grau, along Avenida Ejército, and then heads north on Avenida Cayma, passing through the Village of Cayma. After Cayma one finds oneself out on the open road. On either side of the road, which is paved, there are fields of alfalfa, papaya, potatoes and, as one approaches La Tomilla, on the left

hand side of the road there is a large herd of alpaca. Finally, about 5 kilometers from the centre of Arequipa, the bus pulls into La Tomilla.

As one passes by the old thatched houses of what was once the Village of La Tomilla, one finds oneself in the pueblo joven. In contrast to the green irrigated fields that have just been passed, the ground is now dusty and desolate. Away in the distance Mt. Chachani rises up out of the desert landscape. In the shanty town there is a soccer field. The area is roughly laid out on a grid system. None of the roads are paved, although it is observed that there is street lighting. There is a primary school, and there are several little stores, some of which have a red rag hanging from a stick indicating that they sell chicha. There is also a little Civil Guard post.

By general standards, this pueblo joven is better equipped than some, but again it has been in existence for some time, and there was already a village there before the area began to be settled by newcomers from Puno and Cuzco. The houses, which range from well built abodes constructed of brick and plaster, complete with windows, to little more than shacks consisting of four walls made from blocks of white sillar stone and topped with a zinc roof, line the streets. The streets come to an end, and the houses are then situated at random on the vacant ground. Some are precariously situated on the slopes of a deep gulley.

The main road heading north eventually leads into another pueblo joven, Francisco Bolognesi, and if one heads east



one will come to the village of Carmen Alto. On the map, all these settlements appear to be separate. In reality, however, as each settlement has expanded with the influx of more immigrants, it has become increasingly difficult to determine where one pueblo joven ends and another begins.

Like most pueblos jóvenes in Arequipa, there is no piped water in La Tomilla. This is somewhat ironic as the main water pumping station for the whole city is situated right outside the pueblo joven. Water is brought in and distributed by a water truck, and thereafter stored by the individual inhabitants in oil drums or any similar large container. The total population of La Tomilla is unknown.

Situated on a hill to the south of Arequipa, in the region of Paucarpata, there lies the shanty town of Cuatro de Octubre. With a population of approximately 500 at the time of this study, it is one of the newer shanty towns in Arequipa, and is therefore very much in the earlier stages of development. To the west lies the pueblo joven of Ciudad Mi Trabajo, and to the east Tres de Octubre and Simon Bolívar. To reach Cuatro de Octubre, one takes a bus from San Camilo market in the centre of Arequipa. This takes one south past the Apacheta, or Cementerio General, and from there to the new Urbanización San Martín which lies to the north of Cuatro de Octubre, about five minutes walking distance.

To the south, and to some extent surrounding the pueblo joven, there are some chajras, or maizales. The site commands a view of the whole city of Arequipa with the mountains of

Chachani, Misti and Picchu Picchu providing a magnificent back drop.

As was the case with La Tomilla, most of the basic amenities are missing. There is no potable water. Water has to be brought in by tanker. There is no electricity, and no school. Neither are there any roads to link Cuatro de Octubre with the other urbanizations, although one can walk to transportation. The streets, such as they are, are totally unpaved.

One could see some order to the settlement however. There was a large central area which the inhabitants had planned to be a park. The streets ran down the hill from south to north, but at the top of the settlement the streets ran from east to west. Some attempt at a grid system was established, and the houses were grouped into blocks.

On the whole, the houses were a lot more rudimentary than those of La Tomilla. Being a much newer pueblo joven, this was to be expected. In comparison, in the longer established, and therefore much larger, pueblos jóvenes such as Quince de Agosto and Manco Capac, there was a much larger proportion of more permanent constructions of brick and plaster, complete with windows, attesting to the possibilities of improving one's living conditions with time. In Cuatro de Octubre, many of the houses were constructed out of boulders cemented together or wedged together. Building materials are bought as they can be afforded, and improvements and additions are made according to one's economic progress. There was less



use of sillar than in La Tomilla. Cuatro de Octubre did have several small stores which provided the inhabitants with a few necessities such as kerosene, some patent medicines, bread, beer, and assorted canned goods. Most people, however, preferred to do their shopping in the main market in the city.

### The Urbanizador

Having looked at the shanty town from the point of view of location and appearance, it is now time to try to depict something of the lifestyle of the average Quechua immigrant living in the pueblo joven, of the urbanizador.

Representative of many Quechua families living in Arequipa were the Cayllahuas headed by Domingo (Informant #1), and the Huilcas(#'s 7, 18 and 19). Included in the former are the Ramos family comprising Raimundo and his wife (#'s 2 and 3) the brother-in-law and sister-in-law of Domingo.

Domingo Cayllahua had only recently moved from the suburb of Yanahuara to La Tomilla. This was partly due to his wanting to have a place of his own, having previously had to rent, and partly to his wife's wanting to be beside her relatives.

Domingo's house was still in a process of construction. As with many other houses in the shanty town, sillar blocks were the main material used in construction. These cost him 2,000 soles for a truck load of 200 blocks. The house, when eventually finished, would resemble his brother-in-law's. It would have two small rooms, one which would be a general kitchen and living area, and the other which would be a bedroom

where the whole family of mother, father, and six children would sleep. Domingo, as yet, had not put mortar in between the blocks, unlike Raimundo Ramos' house which was fully complete.

Cooking was done on a two-ringed kerosene stove. There was a medium-sized wooden table and a pair of wooden benches. Water was stored in an oil drum at Domingo's place, but in Raimundo's house, water for immediate use was kept in large earthenware jars. One of these contained chicha which Raimundo's wife had made.

Personal washing and the washing of clothes was done in a large zinc tub. The bedroom space in Raimundo's house was largely taken up by a large double bed. Clothes, and other family possessions were stored in large wooden drums. In neither house was there electricity.

Both Domingo's and Raimundo's houses followed the general pattern of having a walled yard attached, and here they kept some small domestic animals. At Domingo's place, there was a duck wandering around the yard, a cat, and a duckling, which was kept in a pen made of chicken wire. In Raimundo's yard there were two turkeys, and a small pen where he kept rabbits.

The most valuable possession in both households was the radio, and Domingo possessed a pedal sewing machine. The favourite radio programmes were those broadcast in Quechua by Radio Quillabamba. Domingo's oldest son, Victor, had an old bicycle which he used to travel downtown, and there was also



a little child's bicycle which was kept up on the roof.

Most communication seemed to be done in Spanish, and even when there was a dispute which ended somewhat violently during a party, the insults were in Spanish. One of the women, however, on seeing that her husband had been hurt, burst into Quechua.<sup>1</sup> Raimundo's mother arrived on New Year's Day for a visit from Ayaviri. She had been expected for some time and when she arrived it was interesting to see how the adults all addressed her in Quechua.

In marked contrast to the western clothes which Domingo and Raimundo's families wore, Raimundo's mother wore the traditional bowler hat and pollera. She also brought Raimundo a poncho which she had woven herself. The only concession made to traditional dress by either Sra. Cayllahua or Sra. Ramos was the llikla, or blanket, in which they carried their children on their backs.

The Ramos and Cayllahua families attended mass fairly regularly in the village church of La Tomilla.

The Huilca family consisting of Tomás, his wife, two sons, two daughters, and a nephew who was visiting, was much more established than either the Cayllahua or Ramos family. This was reflected to a great extent in their house, which was fully developed and complete. Unlike the other, often makeshift, dwellings hastily erected to provide temporary shelter by the more recent arrivals in La Tomilla, the Huilca's

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<sup>1</sup>The presence of the interviewer may possibly have had some influence on the bias towards Spanish during the gathering.

house was solidly built out of brick and cement, and similar in design to many of the dwellings which were to be found in the inner city. It was the type of house which, it would appear, many immigrants eventually aspire to ; as in the longer established pueblos jóvenes this style was very much in evidence. The house was composed of two main rooms, one of which was the bedroom where the family slept on metal cots. The other, divided by a curtain, was the dining area and the cobbler's workshop where Tomás carried out his shoe repair business. There was also a little store room which served as another bedroom. Cooking was done in a little outhouse, on the same type of stove as the Cayllahuas and Ramoses used. Like the other homes in La Tomilla, the Huilca house had a yard, but this was situated at the back rather than at the front as was more usually the case. The Huilcas, like the other families, kept a few domestic animals, mostly chickens, which were a source of meat and eggs.

Most of the family dressed western fashion. Sra. Huilca, however, who was completely monolingual in Quechua, still dressed in traditional fashion.

On the whole, materially speaking, the Huilca family was better off than many immigrant families. That is not to say that everything was perfect: Tomas' business was not going very well, and he was trying to find a domestic position for his daughter in order to help out with the family income. The trouble was that people would bring him shoes for repair and then find that they couldn't come up with the money to pay for



them. This left Tomás having used leather in the repair which he had already paid for but which he couldn't use again, and without an income to purchase more leather. Nevertheless, Tomás did have a superior house to most, his shoe repair equipment, a bicycle and a radio. As with the Cayllahuas and the Ramos families, Radio Quillabamba was a popular station.

With the mother only speaking Quechua, there was a great incentive for that language to be used in the house. The Huilca family, which was Evangelical by persuasion, would travel to the pueblo joven of Quince de Agosto to attend the Quechua service held there. Apart from the mother, the whole family was literate, and each could read the New Testament, of which they had a copy in Quechua, and a hymnary, which was also in Quechua. In Tomás' workshop there was a selection of comic books which Tomás had stuck on the back wall. Both of the sons were attending secondary school in Arequipa.

#### Employment

Although the Quechua residents mostly live in the pueblo joven, which in many ways is a community separate and isolated from the main city community, employment undoubtedly is a major force in bringing the Quechua immigrant into contact with the Spanish sector of the urban population.

Whereas the immigrant's friends and associates in the pueblo joven are usually fellow immigrants from the Sierra, when he enters the urban employment world he is forced into contact with the non-Indian, Spanish population. In order to cope with this, if he hasn't already done so in the Sierra, he

has to learn Spanish, and in order to feel less different he adopts many of the ways of the Spanish-speaking inhabitant: his language, his dress, and his activities, both at work, and at play. He becomes a factory worker, and starts going to the movies and attending soccer matches. The money he earns enables him to buy the means to make him, outwardly at least, appear more like his employer.

As virtually all the Informants came from agricultural backgrounds, the taking up of employment in the city must be considered as one of the most important ways in which the Quechua immigrant becomes urbanized. He can, and, as will be seen, does retain many indigenous traits in the comparative isolation of the pueblo joven, but in the contact situation brought about by finding employment in the city, fear of ridicule, of being different makes him adopt many facets of national culture.

On the whole, however, the types of employment found by the Quechua immigrant are at the bottom end of the job scale. Often the immigrant fails to find employment, and is forced to agricultural work similar to what he was accustomed to in the Sierra.

The assimilation into the urban work force often, as attested by Informant #14, involves a difficult period of transition from employment in domestic service to factory worker:

Entonces kaypiqa siempre manapuni kay ciudadpiqa trabajoqa tarikunpunichu. Además chicorag ñoqa kani, karani chay tiempo, chayqa mana trabajotaqa facilmente kaypiqa consigueraykupunichu. Así que siempre había barreras, así trabajota napaq manapuni facilchu karan. Entonces kaypi imaynata trabajota trabajani. Primerota trabajani así empleado doméstico. Chaymanta



trabajani chakrapi. Chaymanta trabajani sastreriapi. Chaymanta trabajani fotografiapi. Chaymanta traba-  
jarani. Chaymanta kunan último trabajani kay fábrica  
Lanificio Textilpi. Anchaypi kunan hasta último tra-  
bajani, hasta últimotaraq chaypi trabajasaq, porque  
chaypi trabajo seguroñan kanqa waqpi.

Above translated as follows:

Well, it is still very hard to get work in this  
city. Besides, at that time I was still a youngster,  
and it sure wasn't easy for us to get work here.  
There have always been barriers. I took what work  
I could get. First I worked as a domestic servant.  
Later I worked in the fields. Then I got a job in a  
tailor's shop. After this I got into a photographer's  
for a while, and this latest job I've now got is in  
the Lanificio Textile Factory. I'll stay there now  
until I retire, because work is secure.

Most of the female Informants were employed in domes-  
tic service. Although on the surface a fairly lowly occupa-  
tion, depending on the economic and social status of the em-  
ployer, there can be a considerable degree of prestige in-  
volved. In short, to be employed in a good family can be a  
matter of pride, and the acculturation process, through emu-  
lation, can be hastened.<sup>1</sup>

On the other hand, those immigrants who for various  
reasons fail to find a responsible employer often remain in  
a state of deprivation and exploitation, and frequently run  
the risk of being turned out of the house at the whim of their  
employer.<sup>2</sup> The younger immigrants are obliged to be given

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<sup>1</sup>The servants where this investigator was domiciled  
fall into this category, as do Informants #38 and #39. Con-  
cern for their well-being was an important priority for their  
employers.

<sup>2</sup>Several instances were observed by this writer of  
young girls looking for another employer--having been turned  
out over some triviality.

basic schooling by their employers. In the better households this is done on a night-school basis, and the individual has a chance to further improve his or her position. The converse is all too often the case, however, and the employer fails to fulfil his legal responsibilities of ensuring a basic education for his employee if that employee falls into the age group which is required by law to attend school.<sup>1</sup> Employment possibilities are often denied to the younger immigrant who both wants and needs schooling as he encounters job advertisements which state that no schooling is offered. A situation is thereby created where the immigrant finds any hope of upward mobility stifled, and a possibly valuable system for educating the hitherto educationally deprived is lost.

Of the male Informants, many found employment in the manufacturing industry as factory workers, and in civil construction. Positions in these fields were considered to be both remunerative and prestigious. Informants #1, #2, #12, #14, #21, #32, #35 and #39 are representative of this group, with #1 having risen to foreman in a leather works, and #'s 21 and 32 being an electrician and mechanic respectively. Generally speaking, the factory workers, as seen with #14, considered their jobs to be stable, and were in a better position economically than many other immigrants. Other Informants, such as #7, who was a cobbler, had even succeeded in establishing their own businesses. On the whole, however,

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<sup>1</sup>It was generally acknowledged by members of the teaching profession in Arequipa with whom I spoke that employers frequently ignored the education laws in this respect.



most of the Quechua and Aymara immigrants in Arequipa hold the menial jobs which the native Arequipeños reject. Young immigrants such as #'s 13 and 31 work as ayudantes de carro, which at least represents a move away from a rural lifestyle, and the move towards the earning of a wage instead of a subsistence economy.

All too often, however, the Quechua immigrant whose knowledge of Spanish is severely limited and who has had little or no education, finds himself caught in the same situation as he was in the Sierra. The porters in the San Camilo market are, for the most part, Quechua immigrants, and in the fields around Arequipa, whole Quechua families were observed guarding the fields owned by Arequipeño farmers, or involved in other agricultural activities on the property of Arequipeños. Still others, through economic necessity due to unemployment, temporarily leave their families to work in seasonal activities such as the rice harvest in the Majes Valley.<sup>1</sup>

#### Community Solidarity in the Pueblo Joven

In spite of the fact that the immigrants come from communities in different provinces and departments of Southern Peru, and that one will find people from Cuzco, Apurimac, Puno and the highland areas of the Department of Arequipa all living in the same pueblo joven, there is undoubtedly a strong feeling of solidarity among its inhabitants. Historically, the Quechua have always been very community conscious as represented in

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<sup>1</sup>As gathered from conversations with several inhabitants of La Tomilla.

their system of mutual and communal labour, the ayni, which was designed to deal with common difficulties and problems affecting the community as a whole. The problems in the city are very different from those encountered in the Sierra, but the ways of dealing with them can be traditional. In Cuatro de Octubre the most striking example of this was seen in the building of an access road to permit vehicular traffic into the pueblo joven. Work on this was carried out on Sunday mornings with all the able-bodied adults being obliged to participate or risk a fine. This need to work for the good of the community was expressed by Informant #14:

El 'trabajo comunal' que se dice, que hacemos acá, es precisamente para el progreso del pueblo. Entonces como el pueblo es unido en uno sólo, entonces lo necesito de eso, y forzosamente todos tenemos que laborar; todos tenemos que trabajar para que progrese el pueblo.

The feeling of belonging to a community through living in a pueblo joven was expressed in other ways than communal work and the reciprocal work seen in individuals' helping each other with the construction of dwellings. The day the pueblo joven was founded was an important date in the calendar. The microbuses which serve the pueblo joven are bedecked with paper streamers, and the day is a cause for celebration. Informant #29, referring to Cuatro de Octubre, said that on the anniversary of the formation of the pueblo joven, the inhabitants hold a fiesta where they perform dances from Puno. On the Día de la Madre in May, there was held a kermés with taped music, food and drink. Although not a traditional indigenous event, it did serve to bring community members together.



Although so far only one pueblo joven has been examined in terms of the feeling of solidarity which exists, at the time of this study, there was another event which took place in May and which was designed to promote a feeling of unity and common purpose among all of the shanty towns of Arequipa. Sponsored by the government agency SINAMOS, and the pueblos jóvenes' organization A.U.P.A., this was the Día de los Urbanizadores, which consisted of a procession of representatives of all the pueblos jóvenes of Arequipa which ended in the city's main square. In the procession there were to be seen many people, especially women, dressed in the traditional costume of their regions of origin. In short, there is much, although not all of it traditional, which fosters a feeling of belonging and cohesion among the Quechua (and Aymara) immigrants to Arequipa.

The fact that many people leaving the Sierra head directly for a pueblo joven where they have friends or relatives is another contributing factor to adaptation and to the feeling of being a community. The family structure changes, however, and the extended family to be found in the Sierra has been replaced in the shanty town by the nuclear family. There is marriage between people from widely different areas of the Southern Peruvian Sierra, although all come from the Departments of Cuzco, Apurimac, Puno and Arequipa. There were also cases of union between Quechua and Aymara speakers, e.g. #9's wife in free union was Aymara, while he himself was a Quechua from Apurimac.

As seen, then, the pueblo joven is a community which draws people together from different areas of the Sierra and unites them with common goals and aspirations. For the most part, whilest allowing for regional differences, the inhabitants' linguistic and cultural heritage based on the Quechua and Aymara traditions of the Sierra is the same.

### Politics

Closely linked to the question of sense of community and of community solidarity is the question of political participation, of the Quechua immigrant having a say in some of the decisions which might affect him. Participation on a national level remains, at best, limited. On the other hand, the immigrant must confront government agencies in order to be allowed to obtain the legal rights to a lote, a plot of land. He has to prove that he does not own land already, either in the Sierra or in another pueblo joven. Once he has the appropriate papers, however, the immigrant finds that he is able to participate in matters affecting the pueblo joven, and to elect the representatives which meet with representatives from other pueblos jóvenes in the pueblos jóvenes' organization in Arequipa, A.U.P.A. In other words, each shanty town has a governing body whose representatives are elected by its populace. In practice, this process, as explained by Informant #39 of Cuatro de Octubre, involved the formation of block groups who select candidates for the main election in the pueblo joven:

Nosotros tenemos, digamos que recién nos hemos puesto a formar nuestros comités vecinales que ya lo tenemos



presente en detalles. Hemos salido nueve comités vecinales; el uno, el dos, en escala así como Ud. puede llegar a dar hasta los nueve ¿no? Entonces, dentro de los nueve hemos salido de cada, digamos de cada comité, son tres personas que componen la coordinación. Digamos el comité vecinal y que te dice, tres personas es de la coordinación, uno del coordinador, el otro de secretario de organización, y de economía. O sea que esas tres personas forman el comité vecinal. Ya, entonces de entre esos tres que somos multiplicándolo llegaríamos dar, somos nueve por tres son, serían veintiuno ¿no? O tres por nueve, veintisiete. Veintisiete, pero ahora vamos a formar a base de esos coordinadores de la directiva, que vamos a tener unas elecciones generales para sacar dentro toditos los coordinadores, que van a salir siete personas pa' ser la directiva general.

Of the 27 candidates put forward for office, seven are elected of which the Secretario general is head.

It can be seen, therefore, that the pueblo joven is not a haphazard group of people thrown together by circumstances, but one in which an attempt is being made at organization and at the fostering of political participation by the inhabitants. Every two weeks the members of the community meet on Sunday mornings after communal work to discuss problems which arise, and everyone is entitled to have his say.

#### Aspirations

In essence, the aspirations of the Quechua community in the city are both individual and communal. The individual's aspirations towards finding a paid job, thereby enabling him to educate his children, build his own home, purchase consumer goods, western clothes, radios, etc., in short to emulate the 'Spanish' sector of Peruvian society, are an important motivation for leaving the Sierra and settling in the town.

Basically, the indigenous immigrant seeks to escape the degrading status of indio with which he was confronted for so long in the Sierra. To be 'indio' is to be backward, and the immigrant tries to escape this label by buying the badges of 'Spanishness'.

As seen previously, in some cases the immigrant's aspirations are fulfilled in part at least. Informant #7 works for himself, his children go to secondary school and aspire towards urban trades (one wants to be a T.V. repairman). Informant #36's sons are at school, and working for the P.I.P., the Peruvian plainclothes police, and #44 attends university. Others, however, do not find their aspirations satisfied.

These aspirations are common to other groups who, past and present, have sought to escape the hardships of rural life, and move to the city. When these aspirations fail, as when work cannot be found, then the family experiences frustration and city life for them becomes, as Leeds states in referring to rural-urban migration in the U.S., an "exhausting dead-end" (Paredes and Stekert 1971:168). The vast majority of Quechua immigrants, at least those of the first generation, would appear to be moving laterally in that few are improving their economic and social status sufficiently to enter the middle class; socio-cultural and linguistic barriers as yet are too severe. The Quechua urbanizadores represent a movement from a rural lower class to an urban lower class.

On a community level, aspirations, as stated by the Secretario general of Cuatro de Octubre in 1975, Informant #12,



were the improvement of individual dwellings, and the installation of adequate electricity, water supplies, and transportation. He also mentioned that the community hoped to build a school to provide some basic education. Unlike other cases of rural-urban migration where the rural immigrants to the cities settle in decaying areas, in slums, the Quechua and Aymara immigrants settle in areas where nothing has been built before. From small beginnings advances can and are being made. The shanty can develop into a reasonable dwelling given time, and money. Basic amenities can be established, albeit slowly. The phenomenon of rural-urban migration in Peru is no longer thought to be a passing phase, but a fact of life, and although seen by the middle and upper classes as a threat to the cities and their way of life, attempts are being made to put some order into what in the beginning was a situation of total chaos. On the whole, however, much of the organization towards improvement and development depends on community effort and self-help.

It is seen then, that in a material sense, the Quechua immigrant adopts much that is urban. The pueblo joven is an urban community insofar as it is linked to the city, and depends on the city for its existence and survival. On the other hand, there is very little contact between the inhabitants of the city proper who are Spanish-oriented culturally speaking, and the Quechua (and Aymara)-oriented inhabitants of the pueblo joven. Contact mostly only occurs when the Quechua urbanizador goes into town to do business or to work. The pueblo joven,

as has been said, is essentially an urban village whose populace still remains close to their rural roots based on Quechua language and tradition. Something of this is seen particularly in the communal efforts of the inhabitants towards improving their surroundings, and the lay-out of their dwellings where the remnants of their rural background can be seen in the rearing of domestic animals in the yard, in the home brewing of chicha, and, although not discussed, in the type of food they eat, which in the city, of course, has to be purchased at the market as opposed to being home-grown. The chichería found in many pueblos jóvenes may also be a traditional element. Traditional clothing, however, in the main, with few exceptions, is discarded in favor of the cheap imitations of clothes worn by the 'Spanish' sector. They seem to be worn as a badge of change, of 'success', as indeed is the use of the articles of western culture, the radios, sewing machines, tools, etc., which the earning of a wage through acquisition of urban employment permits. In the main, the immigrant becomes most urbanized in relation to the type of job he obtains. The factory worker is more urbanized than the immigrant who, to make ends meet, must go to the rice, or other, harvest. Even in the area of community entertainment, the use of such elements of modern culture as a P.A. system is evident, while among the male populace, soccer is becoming increasingly popular and is a creator of community loyalty. In the case of the houses, although often makeshift, there is seen the aspiration towards improvement, and the possibility



of building a dwelling more in keeping with urban styles.

If in a material sense the Quechua immigrant shows a willingness to adopt urban elements, there are still elements of traditional culture, however, which he still adheres to, and which give the urban Quechua community the mark of still being a folk society. The willingness to adopt material aspects of urban society is not necessarily the case with other, more symbolic, aspects of traditional Quechua culture. There is much which remains which gives the Quechua community in Arequipa a quality of uniqueness. They are neither the totally un-aculturated Quechuas to be found in the Sierra communities, nor of the same stock as the native Arequipeño whose Spanish-based cultural heritage goes back 400 years. They are urban, and yet still Quechua. They are a rapidly growing Quechua-based urban sub-culture. The next issue to be dealt with, then, is that of Quechua oral tradition as represented by the folk tale, and its continued existence and survival in the city.

### CHAPTER III

#### THE QUECHUA FOLK TALE IN THE CITY

This chapter will examine the question of Quechua oral tradition in the city, of whether Quechua migrants have taken the tradition of folk tale narration to the city, and of whether there is evidence of the maintenance or continuance of this important facet of Quechua culture, its oral literature, in the urban milieu.

In theory, one might expect the art of folk tale narration to be adversely affected by the forces of education, literacy, and the media, as found in the city, which lessen interest in, or a need for, story telling.

The telling of tales by the Quechuas is more than a form of entertainment, although the friendly rivalry involved in who can tell the best story is an important social function. It is by means of the folk tale that the Quechua expresses his feelings, his happiness, sadness, and sense of humour. More than this, however, it is through the folk tale that we catch a glimpse of the Quechua's world view. The stories reflect many aspects of Quechua culture, religious beliefs, and environment which are relevant in the context of the Sierra, but can they hold the same relevance in the shanty towns of the city? Stories about girls abducted by condors



while herding sheep, about animals who talk and behave like humans, and about magical and supernatural entities may well lose their impact in the rational, technological world of the city.

This chapter will try to answer some of these questions. Divided into three sections, the first section will discuss the narrators themselves in terms of who is maintaining folk tale tradition, and to what extent; e.g. is the tradition only evident among new arrivals to the city, or do long-term residents still retain narrative skills? Is the tradition the preserve of first generation immigrants, or, as is necessary for any tradition to survive, is it being passed on to subsequent generations?

The next section will provide synopses of those folk tales which were transcribed, while the third section will discuss the themes to try to ascertain whether the stories have incorporated any new elements as a result of being placed in an urban context, and whether the stories could still be meaningful to Quechuas living in the city.

### The Narrators

The art of folk tale narrative is one with which not everyone is gifted. Like any other art form, some people have more skill than others. To quote Leach:

In some folk communities dozens of people sing and dozens tell tales; all are capable of giving some information about their culture. But most informants do not sing well or tell a story well; nonetheless, all can express in varying degrees of worth their common mass folk culture. Information from such

informants is worth collecting because it does often throw light on the meaning and history of stories, songs, and beliefs. (Leach 1965:56)

Although in the Sierra, the ability to tell stories is fairly universal, and a skill which is acquired from a relatively early age, it is a skill which varies from person to person. Likewise, in the course of the collection of material for the corpus in the urban environment of Arequipa, it soon became apparent that not everybody was a story teller. Every community, as Leach points out, has "individuals who have more songs or more stories than the others and usually they sing better or tell a tale better" (Leach 1965:56). In the Arequipa situation, while disclaiming any ability to tell stories themselves, many community members were aware of individuals who had a reputation for story telling. Informants #7, #8 and #43 are cases in point. The fact that few individuals per community have the ability to narrate folk tales need not, therefore, imply a weakening or disappearance of the tradition. Indeed, one is surprised, in the Arequipa situation, more by the fact that so many informants could, in fact, narrate at least one folk tale, than by the absence of the skill.

As with other aspects of Quechua language and culture which will be examined in this study, certain important factors have to be taken into account in trying to assess the effects migration and urbanization have had on the individual's language and culture. These include age, sex, place of origin, and length of time in the urban environment.



The following table gives some indication of the total number of stories narrated by the Informants in relation to the factors mentioned above:

TABLE I

Informant #	Sex	Age	Origin	Time in city	Number of Stories
<u>0 - 15 years</u>					
5	M	12	Yauri	-	1
24	M	8	Puno	-	2
<u>16 - 35 years</u>					
2	M	30	Ayaviri	4 years	1
3	F	30	Ayaviri	4 years	1
6	M	35	Cuzco	-	1
14	M	29	Chumbi-vilcas	22 years	1
19	M	28	Cuzco	non-resident	1
23	F	18	Puno	1 year	1
32	M	29	Chumbi-vilcas	4 years	1
33	M	19	Puno	-	1
37	F	16	Sicuani	4 years	1
43	F	16	Puno	1 year	11
44	M	22	Cuzco	-	3
<u>36 - 50 years</u>					
1	M	40	Cuzco	32 years	1
4	F	44	Viraco	15 years	3
7	M	44	Cuzco	20 years	10
35	M	40	Puno	3 years	2
36	F	39	Cuzco	20 years	2
<u>Over 50 years</u>					
8	M	53	Puno	15 years	11

From the above table, it can be seen that the ages of the narrators range from 8 to 53 years. Very few children, as is reflected above, were, in fact, able to supply any stories. Although it was not possible to ascertain the exact length of

time the child Informants had spent in the Arequipa area, it is unlikely that this would exceed four years, and in the case of Informant #24, probably not more than one year.

Parents with children were asked if their children knew any stories in Quechua, to which virtually all replied that they did not know any at all, or else were too young to know any. It is perhaps true that in some, if not all, of the cases, the parents may have been reluctant to admit that their children knew any Quechua folklore because of past prejudice against the indigenous language. Even in the case of families which were proud of their Quechua background, however, such as that of Informant #7, where Quechua was spoken regularly due to the mother being monolingual, none of the children were able to narrate folk stories, although their father was a master at it.

It would seem, then, that while there are children who can narrate Quechua folk tales, the art of story telling among the urban-based Quechua is mostly confined to first generation immigrants, and is not being passed on to the second generation. More evidence, however, is necessary before any definitive conclusions can be reached on this issue.

In the case of school children of Quechua origin, fear of class mates who only speak Spanish might be a major reason for the tradition not being passed on, as was summarised by one child during a taping session in the village of Carmen Alto, referring to Informant #5's reluctance to speak:

Tiene vergüenza. Es que los que no saben Quechua critican acá.



Few stories, then, were collected from children, the majority of the material being taped from adults between the ages of 15 and 50 years, with only one Informant over 50 years supplying examples of folk tales in Quechua.

The largest number of stories were taped from members of the 15 - 35 year age group. Out of 21 tales narrated by a total of 11 Informants, however, 11 were narrated by a single Informant, #43, who had barely spent a year away from the rural environment of Puno. It is also significant that being a woman, she might be considered to be more conservative, as this has traditionally been the case among the Quechuas, and therefore more likely to preserve her folklore for a longer period of time than the male Informants.

Informant #44 narrated three stories, but again, as with #43, he had not spent very long away from the Sierra, having come to Arequipa to study at the University.

Of the other Informants, the average number of stories per person was one. Most of these Informants had not spent more than four years in Arequipa, with the exception of #14 who had spent a total of 22 years in the city.

In terms of the quality of the stories with regards to such features as fluency of narrative, imagery, attention to detail, and vocal expression, together with the least amount of interference from Spanish in the Quechua texts, those Informants who had spent the least amount of time in Arequipa, namely, Informants #43 and #44, stood out the most. Informants #14 and #19 also fared very well in this respect. All these

Informants narrated lengthy stories with a maximum of expression and narrative detail. To varying degrees, the other Informants in this group did not attain the same level of narrative expertise, although this does not demean their contribution in any way.

One would, perhaps, expect this group to be most dynamic in terms of adopting city ways and leaving aside old customs and traditions. Certainly the most stories come from the Informants who have spent the least time exposed to the city. This more likely indicates a special talent on their part, rather than the city having had an adverse effect on the story telling ability of the other Informants in their group. The other Informants' stories, although not as many, nor as well narrated, perhaps, were still valuable examples of oral literature.

With the next group, those between the ages of 36 and 50 years, one finds that on average they have spent a much longer time in Arequipa than the members of the previous group. A total of 18 stories was narrated by them, of which 10 were recorded from one Informant, #7.

One would expect this older group of Informants to be more conservative, culturally speaking, than the previous group, due to their age. This is balanced out, in part at least, by a longer exposure to the effects of city culture.

A considerable degree of narrative ability was observed in this group, as well as a slight increase in the average number of stories narrated per Informant. Once again, one individual



appears whose repertoire is more extensive than that of the others, namely #7. Nonetheless, most of the Informants exhibited considerable ability in the technique of story telling, with the exception, perhaps, of #36 who still was able to narrate two short tales, the first of which seems somewhat incomplete.

While some excellent folk tales were recorded from informants who lived in the inner city as opposed to the pueblo joven, e.g. Informants #4 and #44, domestic and student respectively, evidence of a folk tale tradition is strongest among those Informants who live in the pueblos jóvenes. This is where the Quechua presence, of course, is strongest, where families and neighbours can interrelate as they do in the Sierra. It is on the occasions when people gather together that the opportunity and demand for story telling arise. Most of the material in this corpus was gathered not from individuals in isolation, but from those with friends and family present. This is true not only of the folk tales, which are being discussed here, but of the other facets of Quechua culture which were collected: riddles, songs, and reminiscences.

The only Informant in the over 50 age group to narrate folk tales was #8, who maintained a strong Quechua identity, although he had spent 15 years in Arequipa. As has been noted, he was acknowledged by the members of his community to be a story teller. In all, he narrated a total of 11 stories which he claimed was but a small part of his repertoire.



Whether there is any correlation between the change from a rural to an urban lifestyle together with the length of time spent in the urban environment, and the number of stories told or the narrative skills of the Informants is extremely difficult to assess. Long term city residents appear in the corpus who can still relate a good story, e.g. #7 and #14, while the converse is also true, as seen in the case of #36. Similarly, there are short term residents, not long removed from the Sierra, notably #43, who have a large repertoire and a striking narrative technique, but once again the opposite is also found. There are good male narrators and good female narrators, and others of ~~both sexes who~~ indicate no story telling ability whatsoever.

The one certainty is that there are Quechuas who have moved to the city of Arequipa and who maintain the ability to narrate folk tales, often of a very high standard, just as their counterparts do in the Sierra. The Informants who provided material for this corpus are proof of this. But what of the stories themselves? It is now time to examine these.

### The Tales - Synopses

This section will provide synopses of the stories, the full Quechua transcripts of which can be examined in Appendix I. While every effort was made to transcribe as many of the stories as possible, some, the transcription of which in whole or part was especially difficult, have had to be excluded. Where a tale, although not transcribed, is recognizable, a synopsis has been included.



Each tale is numbered according to the Informant number and the sequence in which it was narrated by that Informant. Where possible, each synopsis begins with a type number based on the Aarne-Thomson system, and the number of the major motifs which occur (Aarne and Thomson 1961; Thomson 1955).

The following are the synopses of the stories, beginning with Informant #2, following the sequence in Table I:

Informant #2

Story 1: Between Types 300-359 (cf. 1000-1199). Motifs G211.1.8, K550, and G264.

Supernatural story about a condenado, a supernatural entity believed to be the condemned soul of a person who has done evil in his lifetime and who is condemned to walk the earth threatening the living. In this story, a man is on his way to market. He stops to cook something to eat and a dog comes along and tries to steal his food, so he throws a stone at it. Later, on the road again, a girl appears on the road in front of him. He falls in love with her and decides to get her to go to bed with him. In bed he finds out that she and the dog he had struck are one and the same, and he is afraid that she will eat him. He manages to escape by saying he has to go out to urinate. She ties a rope to him so he won't get away, but he ties the other end to a clump of grass and runs off.

Next he comes to a hut where there is a dead man lying in state. The dead man's soul is still floating around inside the hut, and this scares the man who picks up the dead man's clothes because of course he had run away from the condenado completely naked. The man begins to say all kinds of prayers because he fears that a devil is going to come along to claim the dead man's soul. He also has to contend with a fierce dog that is guarding the body. Sure enough, the devil comes along to claim the soul. The man says the book of San Cipriano for his prayers and the devil goes away, but the man doesn't dare go out until day break.

When the sun is high in the sky he leaves the house only to see the dead man's widow arriving. She sees him dressed up in her husband's clothes and of course thinks that it is him come alive. The man reassures her and tells her what had happened. The story ends with the woman and the man going off to look for the

flock of llamas which the man had at the beginning and which had run off. They do not find them but they do find the merchandise which the man was going to sell at the market. The man stays with the woman for two years before heading back to where he had come from.

Informant #3

Story 1: Type 561. Motifs D840, D1470.1.16, D1662.2, D1131.1, L161, D871.1, D2136.2, K625.

A Quechua version of 'Aladdin and his Magic Lamp'. There is a boy who goes to school. One day, a man comes along claiming to be the boy's uncle. The two of them go off to see the boy's mother and the boy tells her that the man is his uncle and that he is going to go off with him. They come to a cave. The man tells the boy not to touch anything in the cave, but only to bring him the lamp which is shining there. The boy disobeys and takes an apple. The man then gets annoyed and tells the boy to hurry up. The boy, however, does not do as he is told, and so the man shuts him in and leaves. Three years later his mother comes along and lets the boy out. The boy inadvertently strikes the lamp and a voice says, "What can I do for you, Master?" The boy asks for a lot of food and the lamp complies with the order. The story continues with the boy falling in love with the king's daughter after he spies on her while she is bathing. The lamp helps the boy to get rid of the daughter's suiter, thus enabling him to marry her. Next, the lamp provides, on request, a dozen silver-coloured horses and a dozen gold-coloured horses, as a dowry. With the lamp's help, the boy builds a palace, and so the young man and his bride live happily for a while. The man who claimed to be the boy's uncle was aware, however, that the young man was still alive and one day he appears and succeeds in tricking the young man's wife into exchanging the old lamp for a new one, thus making him the lamp's new Master. The man then has the lamp send the palace far away and the young man is sent to prison where he is to be shot. The wife goes to find her husband and he tells her to put poison into the evil 'uncle's' beer. This she does and according to her husband's orders she strikes the lamp and they get back to where they came from.

Informant #14

Story 1: Type 313. Motifs G450, B552, K1335, H1010, H161, D671, D2003, H13, K714.



A very long, complex story involving a condenado. A young man sets off on his donkey with a servant in search of a wife. On the road, he meets a finely dressed gentleman who says that he has three daughters, one of whom the young man can marry. All three become travelling companions, but the gentleman, the servant and the donkey carrying the young man's money get so far ahead of the young man that he loses them. The story tells of the young man's quest for the magical Hacienda of Cielos Azules Verdes where he is told by various shepherds that the gentleman lives, although they don't know how to get there. At last, the young man meets with the Lord of the animals who tells the condor to help the young man. The condor agrees to carry the young man there in exchange for a bull. The condor carries the man for two days and two nights until they come to a mountain top from which he points out in a valley down below a green hacienda beside a blue sea from which it gets its name 'Cielos Azules Verdes'. The condor advises the young man to hide behind a thicket until the gentleman's daughters come out to bathe, and to seek the help of the oldest daughter. This the young man does and he is told by the girl that he should act in a belligerent manner with her father or else he will be eaten as had happened to his servant. This the young man does.

The main body of the story tells how the young man is given three seemingly impossible tasks to perform. In each case he finds he cannot do it and he falls asleep only to find that the oldest daughter has come along and done it for him. The gentleman, who turns out to be a condenado grudgingly says that the young man can marry one of his daughters but he must choose, and if he does not choose the right one, i.e. the oldest, he will be eaten. The condenado dresses all his daughters the same way and makes them kneel on the bed with their backs to the young man. The oldest daughter knows what her father is up to and she wiggles her fingers to let the young man know who he should choose.

The story continues with an account of how the young man and the girl escape from the clutches of the condenado, of how they turn into various things to hide from him on the way back to the young man's country. Once they get near the young man's village he tells his wife that he must go on ahead to prepare a welcome for them. He leaves her in a cave where she finds out that she is pregnant.

The young man in the meanwhile has found another woman and married her forgetting about the woman in the cave. The woman in the cave, now all ragged and unrecognizable, goes into the village and sells the young man a cock which later begins to sing about how



they had escaped from the condenado. This triggers the young man's memory and he goes off to the cave to find the woman. She is furious with him and strikes him on the face which makes his head turn into that of a donkey. She then strikes him again and he returns to normal. The two of them go back to the young man's town, where he is a rich and important figure, being the son of a king. There is much rejoicing, but the young man has to get rid of his first wife. He takes the two women down to the sea shore where he has placed a large box. He asks the pregnant woman, the one who he had forgotten about, to try the box for size, but it doesn't fit. He then turns to the girl from the town whom he had married. She gets into the box, then the young man locks it and throws it into the sea. He then marries the girl who is bearing his child.

Informant #19

Story 1: Possibly Type 810 (cf. 1170-1199). Motifs M211, K219, D1361.17, H51.1, D1401.3, G30316.19.19, G303.3.3.6, G303.3.3.7.

A condenado story. There is a man who finds a woman and gets married. He lives with his wife for ten years and each year she bears him a child. The man, who is called Andrés, finds that he cannot make ends meet. He cannot find work and his children don't have any clothes or anything to eat. Eventually he makes up his mind to commit suicide by throwing himself into a ravine, and so he goes off up into the mountains.

He is on the point of flinging himself into oblivion when he hears a voice calling him from inside the mountain, asking him what he is doing. Suddenly a door opens in the rocks and a condenado comes out. Andrés tells him that he wants to die and that he is going to kill himself because he can't provide for his children. The condenado tells Andrés not to kill himself, and that he will give him a special power which will enable him to steal money from anywhere without being seen. The devil then cuts Andrés and they sign a contract in blood after which he gives Andrés a ring which he says has the power to make him invisible.

Andrés then goes off and the first person he tries out the ring on is his brother, uttering the word gori, 'gold', as the devil had told him to do. Sure enough, his brother does not see him. Next, Andrés goes off to a bank. The guard does not see him because he is invisible and he successfully takes all the money from the safe. Afterwards, Andrés goes home and puts the money in a box. Neither his wife nor his children see



him, and he goes away. In the interim, his wife and children, whom he had left, are in dire straits, when one day one of the children finds the box with all the money in it and so the whole family is able to become rich and look after all their needs, as well as those of the community, hiring doctors and building schools, and an old people's home.

Ten years go by and the contract Andrés had made with the devil is running out. Andrés then returns home where his wife doesn't recognise him at first because he's grown a long beard. Eventually she recognizes him when he gives her his surname and by a mole he has on his face. He then tells her of the deal he made with the devil and of how the contract is due to run out the following day, and that the devil will eat him.

His wife, however, tells him to go to the priest and confess. And so they go to the priest. The priest listens to Andrés' story, and then gives him a big whip, and some holy water. To Andrés' wife he gives a rosary. They then go off to meet the devil who is annoyed that Andrés isn't alone. The devil tries to turn into an ass, then a lizard, then a frog, and lastly a worm. The priest, however, had warned Andrés of this, telling him to whip the devil everytime he does this. The story ends with Andrés beating the devil and making him tear up the contract, and so Andrés and his wife live as millionaires for the rest of their lives.

#### Informant #32

##### Story 1: Local Legend.

A myth explaining how the people from Chumbivilcas got the name Qori Lazo, 'the men with the golden lariats'. Some travellers go to Viraco. On the way back to their village they spy two bulls in the middle of a lake. They try to capture them with their lassos, but the bulls shake the ropes violently and turn into gold, and so do the men's ropes. The men return to their village and tell their fellow villagers what happened. From that time on, the people of Chumbivilcas were given the name Qori Lazo.

#### Informant #37

##### Story 1: Unclassified.

Very short story, probably the bare outline of a much longer story. A girl without a husband meets a boy and they run off together. The girl's family are very



upset at her running away. The boy's parents try to find him but they don't succeed, and there the story ends.

Informant #43

Story 1: Between Types 750-779. Motifs Q1.1, Q41, Q42.3, Q221.1, Q292.1, Q552.16, D475.

Story about three brothers. The oldest brother goes to market to sell fruit. He is climbing a hill when he meets God. God asks him where he is going and what he is carrying. The brother answers that he is on his way to town, and that all he is carrying is horns. God tells him to be off, and to take his horns with him. The brother continues his journey but his load gets heavier and heavier. He gets to town, but when he tries to sell his fruit he finds out that it has turned to a load of horns. The police throw him out of town, and he returns home.

Next, the second oldest brother loads up his donkey with fruit and heads for town to try to sell it. He, too, meets up with God who asks him where he is going and what he is carrying, to which he rudely replies that he is on his way to town and that he is carrying a load of excrement. God tells him to be off. When the second oldest brother gets to town he discovers that his load has begun to smell horribly, and so he is forced to go home in tears having earned no money and having lost his fruit into the bargain.

Lastly, the youngest brother sets off for town to try to sell some fruit, and as with his two older brothers, he meets God on the road. God asks him where he is going and what he is carrying. The youngest brother, however, answers respectfully, saying he is on his way to market to sell fruit. God then asks him if he will sell him some to which the boy replies that he will give him some as a present. God then tells the boy how his brothers had behaved, but as he had been so nice, he will be able to sell his fruit without any problems. He also tells the boy that he should buy a charango and a handkerchief. The boy, just as God had told him, sells his fruit and fills his money bag and hat with the money he earned from selling the fruit. He buys a handkerchief, and picks up a charango on his way home. The youngest brother meets God again to whom he gives the handkerchief and the charango, as well as the little bit of fruit he had left over, which God eats. God then shows the boy how to play the charango in such a way that it will make the boy's donkey dance. The boy then tries it for himself, and sure enough the donkey dances.



The boy then goes home playing his charango and making his donkey dance. His brothers are very jealous of him, and accuse him of having stolen the money. The boy replies that he had got the money from God just because he had spoken nicely to him. The older brothers, however, make a complaint to the police. The youngest brother therefore has to go to the police station to answer the charges. He takes his charango and his donkey with him, and tells the police that he can make it dance. The donkey performs the trick, thereby making the police believe the youngest brother's story. The police have a good laugh, and the story ends with the youngest brother giving money to his parents and to his ill-mannered brothers, now suitably chastened, and they all live happily ever after.

Story 2: Type 530. Motifs G346, H1471, B315, B401, B181, H331, Q585, L161.

There is a father with three sons. Something has been stealing flowers, so the father sends the oldest son to try to catch the thief. The son asks for tobacco, coca, and bread, and off he goes to try to catch the thief. He eats the bread, chews the coca, and smokes the cigarettes, but in the middle of the night, he falls asleep, and this is when the flower stealer, a little horse with a skin of seven colours, comes along and eats all the flowers. The boy's father comes along, sees what has happened, and is furious.

Next, he sends the second oldest son to guard the flowers, but the same thing happens.

Lastly, the youngest son goes off to guard the flowers. Like his brothers he takes cigarettes and coca, but he also takes along a pin which he sticks in his clothes in order to keep him from dropping off to sleep. At midnight, the youngest son is dozing off, but the pin wakens him up, and he sees the little coloured horse busily eating away at the flowers. The boy then takes out a rope which he had with him and captures the horse.

The horse, however, tells the boy not to take him, but to let him go, because otherwise he will be killed. He then foretells that the boy's brothers will be sent away, and that they will throw him into a river, then they will demand money and food which he will be unable to give them. Instead, the horse says that he will give the boy these things to give to his brothers on condition that he tells his father that he has caught him, but that he doesn't tie him up too tightly in order that he can escape into the river. To this the boy agrees.



The next day, his father comes along. He sends the oldest brothers off to make their own way in life, telling them that he will live with his youngest son. The little horse, in the meantime, is tied up, and the father is just saying how much he will be able to sell it for, when the horse kicks him when he goes to take it away, and escapes into the river.

The youngest son, however, decides not to stay with his father, but to follow his brothers. When he catches up with them, the horse's prophecy begins to come true and the older brothers kick him, and wrap him in a sack and throw him into the river. The little horse soon rescues him, and he goes after his brothers again. This time the brothers demand something to eat. The youngest son goes to the little horse, who gives him fine meat to give to his brothers.

Next, the brothers come to a town, and they order the youngest brother to get some money so they can build a house. Once again, he goes to the little horse who gives him 5,000 soles to take back to his brothers. The older brothers then tell him to go and buy some black shoe polish so that they can paint his face to make him look like a black servant. The youngest brother goes off to get the little horse's help, and when he gets back his brothers cover his face with the shoe polish and treat him like a servant telling him to cook meals and to have lunch all ready.

In the town there is a queen, and whoever succeeds in throwing a ring on to her finger will have permission to marry her. The older brothers tell their brother to ask God to help them, and they go off to try their luck at winning the queen's hand. The youngest brother in the meantime, prays to God. The older brothers don't have any luck. The little horse, however, tells the youngest brother to saddle him up and that they will be able to throw the ring on to the queen's finger. Sure enough the youngest brother succeeds in doing this. The guards try to catch him but he escapes back to the house and paints his face black again. His brothers came back angry at having failed and demand their food. They accuse their brother of not having asked God's help, and then proceed to beat him up.

The same thing happens the next day; the youngest brother succeeds and the older brothers beat him up when they get home, because they claim that he didn't pray to God to help them. They also tell him that if they don't succeed in winning the queen's hand in marriage the next day, they will kill him.

The next day, the older brothers go off only to fail again. The little horse comes along and tells the youngest brother that he will succeed, only this time they will be captured. The horse tells him to



tell the people not to take hold of him, and that they should bring him rice and sugar to give to him. Only he, the youngest brother, is to hold the horse. Sure enough, the boy succeeds with the horse's help but they are captured. The boy tells the people to bring him sugar and rice to give to his horse and that this is all that he eats. The boy gives the horse the food and then goes, leaving the people to wonder at the horse as it eats. The little coloured horse then leaves and goes off to his home, a beautiful hacienda which he had acquired. He had told the youngest brother that he would live there.

Meanwhile, the guards are trying in tears to find the little horse, thinking he has run off, and afraid of telling his 'master' the young brother. Eventually they tell him, and he tells them to stop worrying, that the little horse has merely gone off to his father's house, and that he is arriving there that instant.

The horse has dressed himself up to look like a gentleman. The youngest brother gives the people the address of the house where his 'father' lives, and tells them to deliver a letter for him. The people then go off to the house where the little horse is, and find a well dressed gentleman seated there. He says that he is the boy's father and asks them to give him the letter which he reads. He then tells them to go back and tell his son to come. This they do, and then all of them, the boy, the queen, and the people of the town return to the hacienda amid great festivities.

The little horse tells the boy that he will give him money and he hands him a lot of chests filled with money. He then says that he will have to make that do for the rest of his life for on no account will he be able to call for his assistance again. With this he gives the boy the house, everything that is in it and the hacienda. Finally, he tells the boy to live there with his wife, and that they will never see each other again. And so he leaves the boy in tears.

That night the youngest brother's brothers return to their house to find all the food gone, no money and everything burnt. They realize it must have been their brother, so after wondering who is going to look after them now, they go off to try to find him. When they meet up with him he chides them for having treated him so badly, and he gives them ten soles and tells them to be off. They sell their beds to get money for food, and remain in tears. Their younger brother, however, is now a rich man because of the help he obtained from the little horse. He marries the queen and lives happily ever after.



Story 3: Type 709. Motifs S31, S322.2, K512.2, F415.5.1.2, N831.1, E21, S111, Q414.

Quechua version of 'Snow White and the Seven Dwarves'. There is a woman who has a daughter with whom all the men fall in love. Because nobody will fall in love with her, the woman decides to get rid of her daughter, so she calls her black servant, and tells him to take her daughter into the woods, kill her, bury her, and bring back the girl's clothes, her heart and her eyes to prove that he has done the job.

The servant lures the girl into the woods by saying that they should go to pick flowers for her birthday. When they get to the spot where the servant is to kill the girl, he tells her what her mother has asked him to do. The girl pleads for her life, and instead of killing her, the servant captures a little dog that was following, cuts out its heart and eyes, and along with the girl's clothes takes these back to the girl's mother, pretending he has killed her daughter. The mother then takes the eyes and the heart and eats them.

Back in the forest the girl finds a cave. The cave is the home of seven robbers, and is piled high with all the things they have stolen, radios, bicycles, and all sorts of other things. The robbers come home and hear the girl crying which scares them, but the girl doesn't come out, and that evening the robbers go off on a robbing expedition. While they are away, the girl cooks food for them, and makes their beds.

When the robbers get back, they are puzzled as to who has been doing all the cooking and cleaning in the house, and decide to place one of the group on guard the next time they leave, in order to catch the intruder. Sure enough, they catch the girl as she's doing the housework, and she falls into a faint. When she comes to, they tell her not to cry and ask her what she's doing in such an isolated spot. The girl tells them all that has befallen her. The robbers then tell the girl that she can live with them, and that she will be as a sister to them. They tell her that they will kidnap a girl to be her companion, and that they will get her clothes, and a little dog for her to look after. Off the robbers go, and when they come back they bring all the things they said they would bring.

Time goes by, and the girl's mother learns that her daughter is still alive. The mother has turned into a witch because of what she ate, and she goes to another witch and tells her to take a ring with which to kill her daughter. The witch finds the daughter and tries to sell her the ring, but the girl says that she doesn't have any money, so the witch gives her the ring as a present. The girl puts on the ring



and dies. The witch goes off, and the girl's companion is in tears when the robbers return and find the girl dead. They agree not to bury the girl, but instead they treat her like a queen and dress her up, putting rings on all her fingers, and a necklace around her neck.

The girl's mother sends the police to capture the robbers when they are asleep. One of the policemen notices the ring on the girl's finger, and removes it to look at it, at which point the girl wakes up from the dead. She tells the police how the seven robbers saved her from death, and pleads with them not to arrest them. The policeman who took off the ring agrees to let the thieves go if the girl will marry him, and to this she agrees. They give the thieves other, more honest, work to do. The girl warns them that her mother will try to kill her in any way possible, and she tells the thieves to bring her food and to check that there is nothing in it. The girl's mother comes along with cakes supposedly for sale. Against her will, the thieves split open the cakes, only to find that they are full of poison. They then take the witch and her friend and burn them. The story ends with the robbers momentarily turning into donkeys while the witches burn, but they get better and find work.

Story 4: Type 122 (cf. 68A). Motifs K811.1.2, K713.1.1, K1251, K82.

An animal story about a fox and a mouse, in which several common motifs in Quechua folktale are found in the one story. An old man and an old woman have cooked some maize gruel. They eat half of it and leave the rest. Along comes a mouse who begins to eat the remainder. He eats his fill and goes off, but a fox is lying in wait and he tells the mouse that he is going to eat him. The mouse tells the fox not to eat him, and mentions to him about the gruel. The fox tells him to bring him some, so the mouse goes and comes back with a handful of gruel. The fox eats this and tells the mouse to go and bring him some more which he does. The fox is then tempted to go and get some gruel for himself, so the mouse takes him to the old man and woman's house. The fox eats spoonful after spoonful, and plateful after plateful, until all that is left is some gruel at the bottom of the pot. The fox then puts his head into the pot only to find that he is stuck fast. He calls to the mouse telling him to fetch a stone to break open the pot, but when the mouse gets back with the stone he is not strong enough to smash it. Instead, the mouse tells the fox to bang



his head against the wall of the stove where the pot is. The old man hears the noise, and appears on the scene, at which point the mouse runs off. The old man wakes up his wife, and they blow on the flames under the pot which makes the fox beat a very hasty retreat.

Later the fox catches up with the mouse again, threatening once more to eat him up. The mouse dissuades him by saying that shortly a fiery hail will fall on them and they will be burned, unless they can take cover. The mouse then tells the fox to hide in one hole, while he will shelter in another. The fox digs a hole for himself and the mouse covers it over and puts thorns over the entrance. The fox spends a week confined to the hole much to the mouse's delight, but he tries at last to get out, scratches himself and is convinced that the hail of fire is still falling. Once again he tries, and the same thing happens. Finally, he is dying of hunger, and decides to get out, no matter what. And so, scratching himself in the process, he escapes from the hole only to find that once again the mouse has tricked him.

Determined to find the mouse and eat him, the fox goes running off. When he does find the mouse he is holding up a rock. The mouse tells the fox not to eat him because the rock could fall at any moment. The mouse asks him to hold on to the other side which the fox does. The mouse disappears, unknown to the fox, who holds on to the rock for days on end until eventually he dares to let it go, being utterly tired out.

Once more he sees he has been made a fool of by the mouse and goes off to find him, and eat him. This time the mouse tricks the fox into believing that the water is going to dry up and that they should drink as much as they can. While the fox is drinking, the mouse runs away. Once the fox is finished drinking, he tries to run after the mouse, but he has drunk so much water, that he falls down dead, and there the story ends.

Story 5: Combination of Type 1381 B and C. Motifs J1151.1.3, H472.1.

Story about a fool. There is a woman with an idiot son. There is a carpenter in town who is bothering the woman. Unknown to her, the idiot son goes off and kills the carpenter. When her son tells her what he has done, the woman is horrified. They go off and bury the body.

When the woman returns home, she becomes worried that her son will go and tell somebody, so she decides to dig up the body and bury it somewhere else. Off she goes to do this, but first she leaves her son in



a cave. After leaving her son in the cave, the woman goes and makes some buñuelos, returning later to throw them into the cave where her son is. The idiot thinks it is raining buñuelos, and spends all afternoon eating them.

In the meantime, the idiot's mother is off digging up the carpenter's body and burying it elsewhere. Along come the carpenter's children to look for their father. They find the idiot in the cave and ask him if he's seen their father. He tells them that he has, and that he killed him because he was annoying his mother. The carpenter's children then tell the idiot that he should go and tell the police.

The idiot's mother arrives on the scene and tells her son that he is an idiot for telling what he has done because now they will take him to the police station. The carpenter's children ask them to take them to where their father is buried, but it appears that the mother has buried a ram in the first grave. Instead of going to where the carpenter is really buried, they go to where the mother has buried the animal. When they dig the animal up, the idiot laughs and makes a joke to the carpenter's children about their father having horns. They are convinced that they are dealing with an imbecile, but they persist, and ask when he killed their father. The idiot answers that he did it the night it rained buñuelos. The mother then says that her son is most definitely an idiot, and asks how they could possibly think he killed anyone. There the story ends.

Story 6: Type 753 A (cf. Grimm 81). Motifs K1811, E15, J2411.1.

Story about a soldier. There is an old soldier who is put on guard. While on guard, he steals five pistols and runs off. At nightfall, he comes to a house whose owner gives him lodgings and a meal. After eating, they go off to bed. The owner of the house has a lot of chickens, and during the night the soldier makes up his mind to kill them, because he won't have anything to eat on the road. This he does and wraps them in a bundle. The next morning, he says farewell to the owner of the house and sets off again. When the owner finds that his chickens are gone he goes to try and find them but the soldier has got too far ahead.

On the road, the soldier meets up with two gentlemen, and they all agree to be travelling companions. Later, they stop for a rest and the soldier gives them each a chicken to eat. They continue on their journey, but it begins to rain very heavily, with the result that when they come to a river they find that it has



risen and they cannot cross it. The soldier brags to his new-found companions that he is a young man in comparison to them, and that he will carry them across the river. One of the two strangers, who happens to be God, tells the soldier to go ahead, but that he is quite able to cross himself. The soldier goes into the river but is immediately swept away. He calls to the 'old man' to save him. God tells the soldier that he warned him against going into the river, and then proceeds to rescue the soldier.

After he is rescued, the soldier wonders how the old man could have rescued him, but he is grateful and they eat the remaining chickens. Next, they see a black sheep eating, so they decide to catch it and eat it. God asks for the sheep's heart and eyes. What remains they take to feed them on their journey, but eventually this runs out too.

They come to a town where the king's daughter is on her death bed. God tells the king that he will cure his daughter asking him if he will pay him a lot of money. The king replies that he will pay him whatever he asks. God asks to be brought alcohol, coca, and peanuts. God, the soldier, and the dying girl are shut in a room where the soldier lies on a bed. God then begins to roast the girl. The soldier is looking on, but God notices this and tells the soldier to go back to sleep, and not to watch. The soldier, however, disobeys and observes everything that God does.

By daybreak God succeeds in curing the girl. This makes the soldier decide to go the same thing the first opportunity he gets. God sends the soldier to get the girl's clothes which makes the soldier angry, but he does it anyway, and God then hands the girl back to her father, fully recovered. God then announces to them that he is going away and that he will no longer accompany them.

The story continues with the soldier finding another king whose daughter is seriously ill. He announces to the king that he will cure his daughter, and he asks for a bottle of pisco, some coca and peanuts. The soldier begins to roast the girl just as he had seen God do with the other king's daughter, but he doesn't know how to do it. The girl screams, but instead of being cured, she turns to dust. The soldier begins to cry, and then the girl's parents demand that the soldier bring their daughter out. When they see what the soldier has done, they order him to be taken to the town square and executed. Just then, however, the two old men, one of whom is God, arrive. The soldier, on seeing them, cries out that they were his accomplices, with the result that they are all about to be put to death. The old man who is God, however, says that he can make the girl come alive, and asks if they will



pay him. The girl's parents say they will pay whatever he asks. God then takes the girl's dust and roasts it, making her come alive.

God then chides the soldier for getting mixed up in things he knows nothing about. He tells him not to do it again, and gives him money, and a house. He tells him also to find a job and to set up a family. The king is overjoyed that his daughter is well again. The story ends with the soldier going home, and God going off on his own.

Story 7: Type 1525 A. Motifs B392, B571, K301.1, F660.1, H1151, H1090, H1010, H1151.3, K842, K332.

Story about two travellers, one of whom is a good man, the other of whom is a bad man. The good man gets some meat and the two travellers eat this while resting on the road. The good man finishes his portion and the two men resume their journey. Later they run out of water. They are unable to find any, so they continue their journey. They spy a fox eating its prey, and the bad man tells the good man to go and steal the fox's food. The good man, however, only takes the skin and leaves the meat to the fox. The bad man calls him a fool for doing this. The bad man, unknown to the good man, has saved some of his meat and has been eating it in secret.

Off the two of them go again, only this time they see a condor who has caught a pigeon. Again, the bad man tells the good man to go and steal the animal's food. The good man, however, only takes the pigeon's feathers and leaves the meat to the condor, only to invite the bad man's anger.

The two travellers continue their journey. They come across a group of animals fighting over a piece of hard molasses. The bad man tells the good man to go and take the molasses from the animals. The bad man eats some more of the meat he has kept while the good man goes over to the animals. Instead of taking the molasses from the animals, however, he takes a stone and breaks it up, dividing it among them. The bad man, of course, is angry at this, but they continue on their way until they come to a town. They take the animal skins and sell them, using the money to buy bread.

Next, they decide to go to work for the king of the town. This way they earn some money. The bad man, however, tells the king that the good man had boasted he could cut a field of barley in one day. The king tells the good man to prove it. This pleases the bad man, because he is sure that the good man will be unable to complete the task and will therefore be thrown out.



The good man is dismayed and doesn't know what to do, but the animals he had shared out the molasses to come along and tell him that they will help him. Sure enough, they manage to complete the job in less than a day, which amazes the good man. The animals tell him that he should get his own back, and get the bad man thrown out.

The good man then goes off to the king and tells him that the bad man had said that he would steal his pillow. The king then says that they should let him try.

The bad man wonders how he can steal the king's pillow. That night he throws a stone onto the roof of the house where the king is sleeping, shouting out that it's the bad man. The king doesn't find anything. The bad man then throws another stone in another direction, which makes the king go there. While the king is distracted, the bad man runs into the house and steals the pillow. The next day, the bad man gives the pillow back to the king.

To get his own back the bad man tells the king that the good man had said that he could make his daughter have a baby in one night. The king says that he should try.

They take the good man and the daughter and lock them up together in a room. The good man is in tears, as he doesn't know how he can possibly make his king's daughter give birth to a child in a single night. Along comes the condor, the one whom the good man had given the meat to. He tells the good man that he will go and get an egg, and that when he returns with it he should put it in the bed, and that at daybreak it will hatch. Meanwhile, the bad man is pleased with himself, as he thinks that there is no way that the good man will be able to make the king's daughter have a child in one night.

The next day, however, the baby is heard crying, and the bad man is dumbfounded as to how the good man could have made the woman have a baby in one night. The good man then attempts to get his own back by saying that the bad man had said that he could kidnap the king's sacristan. The king then tells the sacristan that if he let's himself be kidnapped he will be put to death.

That night, the bad man calls out the sacristan's name, saying that he has been told by God to take him to him. The bad man makes the sacristan get into a big box, and carries him downstairs pretending all the time that he is taking him to see God in Heaven. He takes him down to the yard, and walks round and round. Eventually, the sacristan asks if they've reached Heaven yet. The bad man says that they have, but he leaves the sacristan in the box telling him not to go away.



The bad man then goes off to tell the king that he has succeeded in kidnapping the sacristan. The king doesn't believe it, but when he sees that it is true, he has the sacristan executed.

The bad man then escapes himself and begins to go around stealing and robbing. The bad man finds a friend and they go off and rob a bank. Later on, they begin to get wary, and fear that the police might have set traps for them. Because of this, they decide not to venture out one night. The bad man's friend, however, sneaks out, and sure enough, gets caught in a trap. The rest of the story tells how the bad man rescues him and makes a fool of the police.

Story 8: Type 1530\*. Motifs B524 and J2493.

Short story about a karisiri, a supernatural being believed by the Quechuas to kill people by sucking out their fat. Karisiri is a Bolivian term. Elsewhere, especially in the Cuzco area, it is known as the ñak'aq.

There is a man who is walking along with his two dogs. He comes to the place where the karisiri lives. The dogs spot a vicuña and set off in pursuit, leaving their master all alone. The karisiri chooses this moment to come out, telling the traveller that he is going to kill him. The traveller, however, tells the karisiri to wait until he sings him a song and then he can kill him. The traveller begins to sing, but the words he uses summon his dogs. The karisiri, although not certain, suspects that the traveller is calling somebody, but, too late, just as the traveller insists that he isn't calling anybody, the dogs come running down the hill and attack the karisiri. The karisiri begs to be let go, saying that he will let the traveller go, that he won't kill him. The traveller doesn't relent, however, and the dogs kill the karisiri. After he has buried the karisiri, the traveller goes into his cave and takes the karisiri's money and food, as well as his donkey. Whistling, the traveller goes on his way, throwing some bread to his dogs as a reward.

Story 9: Between Types 750-799 (cf. 750). Motifs Q141, Q584.2, D114.1.1.

Story about two brothers, one of whom is rich, the other of whom is poor. The poor brother doesn't have any land or livestock. One day he goes to his rich brother to beg for some lard and some milk so that he can cook something to eat. The rich brother sends him away, saying that he doesn't have enough even for him-



self, suggesting to his poor brother that he should go and find work if he wants to eat.

The poor brother then returns home to his wife, telling her what his brother has said. He decides to take his brother's 'advice' and goes off to work as a shepherd. While climbing up a hill he meets God. God asks him where he is going, and in his reply, the poor brother relates the story of his poverty, and how he is going off to find work as a shepherd so that he can eat. God, however, tells the poor man not to go, but to return home. The poor brother protests that he will die of hunger if he does this, but God assures him that he won't, and gives the man three flowers which he tells him he should plant in a large corral when he gets home.

Off the poor brother goes, and when he gets home his wife asks him if he has found work. Her husband then tells her all about what happened and how he has to plant the three flowers and that night they pray. They go to sleep, and when they awake they find that the corral is full of cows, sheep and llamas. The rich brother appears on the scene when he hears the noise of the animals. He asks his brother where he got the animals, suspecting that they are all stolen. His brother tells him that God has given him the animals. The rich brother still doubts him, however, saying that he might have been given one or two animals but not all the animals that are in the corral.

Anyway, the rich brother goes off to see if God will give him some animals as well, threatening to kill his brother if God doesn't give him anything. The rich brother climbs up the mountain and meets God, and asks him if it is true that he gave his brother all the animals he now has in his corral, and asks him why he did it.

God replies that indeed he had given the poor man all the animals, and that he had done so because he didn't have anything to eat. God then asks the rich brother if there is anything that he needs.

The rich man replies that he has hardly any animals to which God replies that it isn't true, that he is rich and already has a lot of animals. God continues by asking the rich brother if there is something he is really short of. The brother then says that he doesn't have much money. God says that he will give him money, telling the rich brother that he is to return home and bind his head, and that when he sows he will get the money.

The brother heads for home and just as he arrives he ties up his head. All of a sudden he turns into a deer. He tries to get into his house, but his wife stones him and his dogs chase him.



Along comes the poor brother who chides the rich man's wife for being so ambitious, saying that because she sent her husband off under false pretences he has now lost everything and has turned into a deer. The poor brother then tells her to go and collect her husband's clothes, and in tears she does as she is told.

When he was stoned the deer's leg had been injured, and he has fled into the hills where he turns back into a man. He finds a little house and there he falls asleep. There is also a traveller who is looking for a place to spend the night and he spots the house where the rich brother is asleep. The traveller goes to the door and asks to be put up for the night. The rich brother tells him that he was stoned and that his leg was injured. The traveller offers him a cigarette, and says he will cure him with coca, but the rich brother turns down his offer. The rich brother, however, shows the traveller a blanket he can use as a bed, and he points to some quinoa gruel which he says he can eat. The traveller eats this and then goes to sleep.

The house, however, isn't a house at all, and the bed is really nothing more than grass. When the traveller awakes the next morning, he finds out that he has been sleeping in the open, and that the food he ate the night before was deer droppings. The traveller is horrified and vows to kill the deer which at that moment springs up and runs off down the hill. There the story ends.

Story 10: Unclassified Ogre Tale. Motifs G31, and R200.

A condenado story. A man and his two sons are out selling coca from door to door. The father tells his sons that he can't go on any further that night as his stomach is all swollen with gas. They have come to a river, but instead of trying to cross it that night, they decide to sleep on the bank.

They all go to sleep, but a little later, the boys' father wakes up and asks his sons what they are going to do for food. They cook up some flour and then go back to sleep. Some time after this, the father wakes up again complaining that his stomach is hurting because it has swollen up. The sons are concerned about what is happening to their father. He tells them that he is dying, which makes the boys wonder what is going to happen to them; where they are going to go if their father dies. The father tells them that they should head for home, and then he dies.

The boys take their father and light a candle for him. Later, the younger brother complains to his brother that his stomach is making a strange noise, to which the older boy asks why his brother's stomach is making such a strange sound. At this moment, the boys' father, who has risen from the dead, says that that



was the sound that his stomach had made. The boys grab their ponchos, cross the river, and head off into the hills as fast as they can possibly go. Their father calls to them to come back. The boys have no intention of going back, but after climbing a little way, they look back and see their father eating a mule. After he has eaten it he returns to death.

The boy with the rumbling stomach finds some meat, but the two boys spend the night crying. The next day they go to the homes of some men who live on the mountain and tell them how their father had died and become a condenado, saying that they had almost been eaten by him, and that they had barely escaped. The men gather a group together and go to the place where the boys' father had died. They tie a rope around his neck and bury him, covering him with lots of stones.

The boys then decide to go home by another road than the one they had originally intended using for fear that their father will rise from the dead again and will eat them. Unknown to the boys, their father has indeed risen from the place where he was buried, and is on his way back to their mother.

When he arrives, his wife, not knowing that her husband has died and is now a condenado, scolds him for not having come back with the children. When the dogs begin to attack him, the condenado says that he will go and fetch the boys, and so he leaves. While he is away, the boys come back in tears and tell their mother that their father had died and that some men had buried him, and that they had come home another way. Their mother is puzzled and tells the boys that their father had just been in the house a short time before, and that he will be back soon. The boys, terrified, ask their mother how their father could possibly since he was a condenado now and had almost eaten them and that they had escaped from him and come home. There the story comes to a close.

Story 11: Type 411. Motif B655.

Story about a boy who falls in love with a toad. There is a poor woman who has an only son. The son goes off to build a house for himself. One day, while he is working, a young woman comes along. The girl, who is really a toad, falls in love with the boy. At night fall, the 'girl' goes away, offering the boy some food, but he doesn't want to eat. The next night the 'girl' appears at the boy's house with the intention of sleeping with him, which scares him. The two of them fall in love, however, and they go to bed together. Later, they decide they have to get married.



One day, the boy goes for a short while to his mother's place to eat with her, so he takes leave of the 'girl', who accompanies him for part of the way, before going back to his house on her own.

One day the boy's mother comes along to visit when he isn't there. Seeing how dirty the house is, she decides to clean it up. She gets busy cleaning and pulls the boy's bed all the way out from the wall, and at the head of the bed what should she find but a toad. She kills it and throws it out behind the house.

The toad, however, comes alive again and crawls into the boy's bed where, weeping, she waits for him to come back. She tells the boy that his mother tried to kill her. The boy can't understand that his mother would try to do such a thing, thinking that she must be mad to do something like that. That instant he decides to go and talk to his mother about it.

When he gets to his mother's place, he asks her why she tried to kill his fiancée. The mother, of course, can't believe what her son is saying to her, saying to him that indeed she would be mad to kill another woman, but that it wasn't a woman she had killed, but a toad which she had discovered at the head of the bed. The boy hears all his mother says in disbelief and dismay, since he was determined to marry the 'girl'. The two of them decide to go back to the boy's house to find out the truth, but when they get there, there is no one to be seen. They do find the toad, however, and the mother asks her son if this was the woman he had fallen in love with. The boy asks his mother what he is to do, and she warns him that he must not sleep with his 'lover' because she will cause him to swell up.

Once the boy's mother has gone, the 'girl' appears, suggesting that they should sleep together. The boy asks her where she has been since his mother had come for a while. The 'girl' replies that she had gone off because she was afraid that the boy's mother would try to kill her. She suggests once again that they should sleep together that night, but the boy says that he should sleep in one corner and she in another so that he won't hurt her injuries. Off the two of them go to sleep. The next day, the boy suggests that they should cook some wathiya a type of potato which is cooked in a special oven made out of clods of earth. The boy says that they should build an oven, that he will go off and get some wood for the fire while the girl cleans the potatoes. This is what they do. When the boy comes back with the wood, he begins to get the fire really hot so the potatoes will cook, although what he is really planning on cooking is the toad. He calls the 'girl' over to see if the potatoes are ready, at which point the boy kicks her into the oven. The girl turns back into a toad. Seeing that his



mother was right, that the girl really was a toad, he takes a can of kerosene and throws it on the fire, completely destroying the toad in the flames, and there the story ends.

Informant #44

Story 1: Type 1535. Motifs K114, K1571, K941.1, K842.

There are three brothers. The youngest brother, who is an idiot, is hated by his brothers, and even by his mother, because he doesn't want to do anything around the house.

One day his brothers tell the idiot he should go off and do some work, so he goes off into the country, when what should he find but a sheep. He tells his mother and his brothers when he gets home that he is going to look after the sheep, and that it will provide him with wool to clothe himself with. Sure enough, he looks after the sheep, and it provides him with clothes which makes the idiot's brothers very angry that he should be better off than they.

The brothers then decide to kill the sheep, eat the meat, and leave the skin hanging in the house. They accomplish this by sending their idiot brother to get fire wood, and when he gets back he discovers his sheep's skin hanging in the house.

The idiot, in tears at what his brothers have done, tells his mother to make him some food to take on a journey and says that he is going to leave home, taking the sheep skin with him. So off he goes. On the road, he lies down and goes to sleep. While he is asleep, a hawk, an allqamari, flies down and begins to pick all the wool off the skin. The idiot wakes up, however, grabs the allqamari, and kills it. Having killed it, the idiot then wonders what he is going to do with it. After braiding the wool which the allqamari has unravelled, he decides that he will use the allqamari to tell fortunes with, and thereby to earn money.

The fool comes to a town where there lives a university student. The student sees the idiot and asks him what he is carrying. To this the idiot replies that the bird can tell you how things are going with yourself, your family, your lover, etc. The student then asks for his fortune to be told, mentioning that he has a girlfriend whom he suspects of cheating on him. The idiot agrees to tell the student's fortune, but secretly does not know if the allqamari can look into the future or not. The student, however, unwittingly helps out the idiot by showing him his girlfriend when she visits him one day. The idiot, of course, is now staying with the student. On another day, the student



has to leave. Shortly after he leaves, who should come along but the student's girlfriend accompanied by a priest. The idiot overhears the two of them plotting to kill the student with a revolver. When the student gets back at lunch time, the idiot tells him that he has managed to look into the future and that he has foreseen that his girlfriend will kill him with a revolver, and will go and sleep with a priest. The student asks the idiot if he is absolutely sure, to which the idiot replies that he is. The student then takes a revolver himself, goes and shoots the priest and beats up his girlfriend.

So pleased is the student with the allqamari's power to tell fortunes, that he wants to buy it from the idiot. The idiot agrees to sell the bird to the student for the price of two donkeys loaded with money. So it is that the idiot, feeling very pleased with himself, returns home to his mother and his brothers. He tells them that it was a good thing for him the day they killed his sheep because it caused him to make his fortune. They all have a big celebration at the idiot's successful return.

The idiot then claims that his brothers are fools for not having killed all the sheep, because they could have taken the skins to the town he had just come from, and made their fortunes. And so the idiot tricks his brothers. They go and kill all their sheep and load the skins on to five donkeys. The idiot then tells them that when they get to town they should shout, "Skins for sale, twenty thousand, thirty thousand soles!" and a lot of people will come along to buy the skins, that they will sell them all if they do, just as he did.

The idiot's brothers then leave for town, the idiot remaining behind with his mother. When the older brothers get to town, they begin to yell in the street, "Skins for sale, thirty thousand, forty thousand soles!" just as their brother had told them to do.

A gentleman comes on the scene, however, who tells them that they have a lot of nerve trying to sell skins at thirty thousand soles and that he will bring them up on a charge with the police. The man leaves, and then the brothers go to pieces and barely sell their skins for twenty soles. The police come along and the brothers end up spending two months in jail, where they have time to reflect on how their brother had lied to them and tricked them.

While in jail, the brothers make a knife, and plan to stab their brother in the neck once they are released. They serve their time, and when they are let out they head straight for home with the intention of getting even with their brother.



The idiot, however, has figured out that his brothers are going to come to get him, so he goes and asks his mother if they can change beds, which she agrees to do. That night the older brothers arrive, they break into the idiot's room with their knife and stab their mother in the neck thinking that they have killed their brother. They realize their mistake when their idiot brother comes running in from the other room, yelling that they have killed their mother. Frightened that the idiot will go and tell somebody, the older brothers run away.

The idiot is left with his mother's corpse and wonders how he can put it to good use. Carrying it, he heads off to town. As he approaches the town, the idiot comes to a bridge, and as his mother is very heavy, he decides to have a rest in the middle. He stands his mother on the bridge placing her hands on the edge of the parapet to make her remain upright. Along comes a man who comes up to the idiot and tells him that he is looking for a servant, to which the idiot announces that his mother is looking for work, and that she is standing on the bridge. The man can't see her, so the idiot tells him that his mother is walking with a limp on the bridge. The idiot then tells the man to come and he will take him to his mother. As they approach the corpse, the idiot tells the man that apart from walking with a limp, his mother is also deaf. The man then turns to the idiot's mother, not realizing that she is dead, and asks her if she wants to work for him. The idiot then tells the man again that his mother doesn't hear. In frustration the man says, "Doesn't this woman hear anything at all?" and he slaps the corpse on the shoulder sending it head-first into the river. The idiot then starts to yell that the man has thrown his mother into the river. Being very alarmed at this the man pleads with the idiot not to shout, and not to tell the police, believing that he has killed the boy's mother. The idiot then takes the opportunity to get a lot of money out of the man who has already offered to pay him if he keeps his mouth shut.

Once he has been paid, the idiot goes off to find his brothers, telling them that it was really lucky for him the day they killed his mother, as he went to a town and sold the body for lots of money. He also tells them that they were fools for not having killed their wives, too, as they could have made a lot of money. The older brothers agree with him and decide to kill their wives. They get their wives drunk and then kill them. They then go back to their 'idiot' brother to ask him what they should do next. He tells them that they should load each of their wives on to a donkey and take them to town, but not to the same



town they went to before. The idiot warns them to be careful and not to make a mistake.

Off the brothers go to the town, and when they arrive all the people gather around. The brothers then begin to cry, "Skulls for sale, thirty thousand soles!" Just as had happened in the other town, a man comes out of the crowd complaining about how they could possibly want to sell skulls for thirty thousand soles and saying that he will call the police.

The people call the police who come along and throw the two brothers into jail, where they end up spending ten years for murder. While in prison they plot what they are going to do to their 'idiot' brother. They are really furious at his having duped them twice. In prison they sew gunny sacks, and this gives them the idea of killing their brother by putting him into a sack and throwing him into a river.

On their release, the two brothers head straight to their brother. They grab him and throw him into a sack, telling him that they are going to throw him into the river and that this time he will die for sure. The 'idiot' merely replies that what must be must be, and his brothers pick him up in the sack. It is ten o'clock at night, and after a long walk they come to a bridge. On the other side of the bridge there is a little store with a light shining in it. They leave their brother on the bridge and decide to have a little drink to give them courage before throwing their brother into the river, and so they go off to the store.

While the brothers are having their drink, who should come along but a traveller with a herd of cattle. As he is crossing the bridge with his herd, the 'idiot' calls out to him that he is tied up in the sack because people want to marry him off against his will, suggesting to the traveller that maybe he would like to get married instead, since the girl has a lot of money. The traveller takes to the idea, asking the idiot to bring his cattle on to him later, and so the idiot and the traveller change places; the idiot ties up the traveller in the sack and goes off with his cattle.

Soon the two older brothers return from the store. They tell the person in the sack to say his goodbyes, thinking that it is their brother, and say that they are going to throw him into the river. The man in the sack cries out at this that they shouldn't do it, that he wants to get married. This makes the brothers very mad indeed, for, of course, the idiot had made them kill their wives, and they can't understand why all of a sudden their younger brother should want to get married. And so they throw the poor traveller into the river thinking that they have done away with their brother, who, of course, is by now far away.



The brothers then head for a fair, which is taking place in a nearby town, with the intention of getting drunk to celebrate their having got rid of their brother. While they are at the fair, to their horror and amazement, they see their brother with a whole pile of money which he has got from selling the cattle he took from the traveller. They go to speak with him to find out how he could have escaped, and to ask him for some money. They go up to him and ask him how he got all the animals. To this the 'idiot' replies that it was a good thing that they threw him into the river, but that it was a pity that they hadn't thrown him in deeper because he could have come out with more animals to sell than the few he did. He then goes on to suggest that his brothers could get the animals to sell which he himself failed to get, telling them that he will help them by throwing them into the river. The brothers fall for it hook, line and sinker, and the idiot takes them and ties them up in a sack. He leaves them in a cottage near the bridge and at nightfall, he takes them to the bridge. His brothers ask him again if they will really have a lot of animals to sell, and he assures them that they will. All the time, however, the 'idiot' is looking forward to finally getting rid of his brothers for having hated him so much. And so the 'idiot' who wasn't an idiot at all, flings his brothers into the river without any remorse, for they would have done the same to him, and happily goes on his way home, and so ends the story.

Story 2: Unclassified Type. Motifs B620, D350, B602, K811, B632, K955.

Classic Quechua folk tale about the shepherdess and the condor. There is a pretty girl who takes her sheep every day to graze on the mountain. One day, as it is getting late, a gentleman, elegantly dressed in a brown suit and a red tie, comes along. He sits down beside the girl and begins to play her a beautiful tune on his mandolin. The girl, however, is nervous and says that she will go and tell her mother, at which point the gentleman leaves.

Another day, the girl is out grazing her sheep and the gentleman appears again. The girl finds him annoying and wonders what he wants of her. She is thinking of setting her dogs on him, but the man reads her mind and tells her how beautiful she is. The two of them agree to meet again the following day. The man then asks if she has a husband. When she says that she hasn't, the man tells her that he wants to fall in love with her. The man then comes back day after day until the girl is madly in love with him.



One day the girl tells the man that she is pregnant and asks him to take her to his house, to which the man agrees, saying that he lives very far away, behind the mountain. The girl still wants to go away with him but says that she must tell her mother. The man tells the girl not to do this. The man then asks the girl when she wants him to take her. She wants to go as quickly as possible, so they agree to go the day after next.

The girl asks the man what she can do about her sheep, suggesting that she take them back home alone first, but the man tells her not to worry about the sheep since her dogs can see that they get home safely. The girl doesn't tell anyone that she is going away. When she meets the man again as arranged, he tells her to tell her dogs to take the sheep home. When the dogs get home without the girl, her mother goes to look for her, but she can't find her anywhere.

In the meantime, the man, who in reality is a condor, is all set to take the girl away. She is a little puzzled when he says that he will have to carry her, but she goes along with him. He tells her that she should hold on to his neck, but that she mustn't look or else she will fall. All the time the girl is wondering who the man really is, but she agrees not to look, and so the condor takes off with the girl clinging to his neck. The condor takes the girl to a cave, and when she sees that this is the 'man's' home, she begins to doubt that he is a man at all.

She now has only three days left before she is due to give birth. She tells the man that she is feeling sick and asks him to bring her some meat and some potatoes. The man goes off saying that he will bring her back some beef. Instead, however, he comes back with some mutton. The girl says that she doesn't want the meat, which makes the condor angry. The girl, shortly thereafter, gives birth to a son. The girl has become very sad because of where she is living and her doubts about the man, which are increased by the type of food he keeps bringing for her to eat. One time while the 'man' is away getting food, the girl decides to hide behind a rock in order to see who or what he really is. When she sees a condor come flying into the cave, she sees that she has been tricked and that the gentleman wasn't a gentleman at all. The girl's sadness increases now that she knows the truth, and she wonders what her mother must be thinking has happened to her.

In a cave nearby, there lives an enemy of the condor whose name is Jalisco. One day while the condor is away getting meat, Jalisco comes along to visit the girl who tells him how the condor tricked her. Jalisco tells her not to be sad because he will take her back



to her mother. Sure enough, the following day Jalisco and the girl trick the condor into going away, covering up the girl's absence by telling the condor that she has gone to wash clothes. So it is, therefore, that Jalisco manages to take the girl back to her mother.

The condor gets back home only to find the baby crying and the girl gone. He goes to try and find her and sees a woman down by the river all by herself. Thinking that it is the girl, he calls out to her to hurry up and get on with the cooking. The woman, however, is really a frog, and it disappears into the water. After thinking for a while the condor comes to the conclusion that Jalisco must have been the one who took the girl, so he makes up his mind to kill him. The condor doesn't find Jalisco at home, and decides to go to the girl's house. There he overhears the girl telling how a condor fell in love with her and abducted her. All the time the condor is wondering how he is going to get the girl back. When he hears the girl's mother telling how she will pay Jalisco for getting her daughter back, the condor becomes furious and heads for Jalisco's place determined to do away with him once and for all.

The condor goes and stands at the entrance to Jalisco's cave shouting to Jalisco that he will kill him and eat him. Jalisco succeeds in tricking the condor and escaping. The condor chases him and they end up at Jalisco's house. This time Jalisco convinces the condor into believing it was another Jalisco that took the girl home. The condor believes him and goes in search of the 'other Jalisco'.

Jalisco decides that he should get rid of the condor for good, so he goes to the girl's house and tells her mother how the condor wants to kill him, and that she should invite the condor to the house so that they can kill him. The girl's mother agrees to this, and Jalisco warns her that the condor will come dressed as a gentleman in a brown suit and a red tie. He also tells her that she should have ready a large pot filled with boiling water, and that this should be covered with a cloth so that it looks like a seat.

Jalisco then goes to the condor and tells him that he has fixed things with the girl's mother so that he can have her back. The condor goes to the girl's house and is invited in by her mother. The condor then says that he has come to take the girl back. The girl has not been taking part in the conversation, but she comes out and her mother tells the condor not to go just yet, but to have a seat first. The girl then takes the condor and sits him on the pot. The condor falls into the boiling water and the girl's mother covers it with the cloth again.



After a while they look into the pot and they see that the gentleman who arrived at the house has now turned back into a condor. So the condor is killed.

The girl now remembers that she has left her baby in the cave, and she confesses to her mother how the condor tricked her and made her pregnant. The girl and her mother send Jalisco, who is now very happy at having killed the condor, to fetch the child. Jalisco obliges, and he comes back with a beautiful little baby condor which he gives back to the girl, in return for which he receives a flock of sheep, and food in abundance.

Story 3: Animal Tale of Unclassified Type (cf. Grimm 132).  
Motifs K566, B543.2, K911.

There are a group of travellers who are carrying provisions on donkeys. One of the donkeys refuses to go any further and lies down in the middle of the road, so the travellers just leave him there and go on their way. Left on his own, the donkey soon becomes fat from grazing.

One day, a fox comes along with a thorn stuck in his foot. The fox tells the donkey that it is hurting him a lot and asks him if he can take out the thorn. The donkey agrees to do this, and sends the fox off to get a needle. The fox comes back with the needle, and the donkey takes out the thorn. As he does so he yells that the thorn has now got stuck in his foot. The fox asks the donkey to show him where, but the donkey is lying, and as he is showing the fox the imaginary place where the thorn has got stuck, the donkey takes aim and lands the fox a kick which knocks him cold, and runs off.

Another day a skunk comes along, and once again the donkey uses the thorn trick, only this time he kills the skunk with his kick. And so for a while the donkey goes around kicking the foxes and the skunks.

One day a fox appears and tells the donkey that he lives in a hole up in the mountain and he points out where his home is. It so happens that the foxes have stolen the rope tethers from a group of men from the Majes river region, and they are going around asking everybody if they know who stole their tethers, to no avail.

They come to the donkey and ask him if he knows anything about the theft, saying that they will pay him. The donkey says that he will tell them where their tethers are, but asks them how much they are prepared to pay. To this the Majeños reply that they will pay him whatever he asks. The donkey agrees and they



all set off to where the Majeños live. On the way, the donkey says that he will bring the men their tethers if they give him lots of oats and alfalfa to eat. The Majeños then ask the donkey to tell them where he is going to get their tethers back from. The donkey, however, says that he will bring back the tethers, but that the men must trust him to go alone. The donkey then tells the men to boil up some quinoa and rub it all over his body. This the men do, but they suspect that the donkey is merely playing a trick on them and that he won't bring them back anything.

The donkey, in spite of the men's doubts heads for the mountain, because, of course, one of the foxes has already told him where they live. The donkey comes to the door of the foxes' den, where he lies down. After lying there for a long time, who should come out but one of the fox cubs. He sees the donkey lying at the entrance to the den, and although not knowing what it is exactly he thinks that it must be some dead animal his father has brought back for them to eat. He runs back into the den to tell his mother, saying that there is something dead lying in the doorway with maggots coming out of its rear end. The mother fox goes out to investigate and sees that the cub was right. She says that they should wait until their father gets back and then they can drag it into the den to eat.

The mother fox's husband arrives shortly. He sees what he believes to be a dead donkey at the mouth of his den. Another fox comes out and they decide to get all their friends together, Vicente, San José, and Antonio, so that they can haul the donkey into the den and have a big party. Antonio tells Vicente to go and get the tethers to help them drag the donkey into their house. Vicente goes and gets the ropes and the foxes tie them around their waists and everybody begins to haul the donkey, shouting encouragement to each other. Suddenly, the donkey springs to life, and furiously begins lashing out with his feet at the foxes with the result that he kicks all the foxes to death.

Happy with having retrieved the ropes belonging to the men of Majes, the donkey goes running back to them in eager anticipation of his reward which the Majenos give him gladly, and there the story ends.

#### Informant #1

Story 1: Type 122. Motifs K741, K842.1, K713.1.1 (K811.1.2), K1251, K844.

Story about a fox and a mouse. This story incorporates several themes which occur frequently throughout the



Quechua folktale, namely, the tar baby theme, the mouse tricking the fox into believing that rain fire is going to fall, the mouse tricking the fox into believing that a large rock is going to fall and making the fox hold it up, (cf. Informants #43, and #4, stories 4 and 1 respectively). In this story, an old couple, fed up with a mouse which sneaks into their orchard and steals and eats their fruit, come up with the idea of making a figure out of tar in order to trap the mouse. Sure enough, the mouse comes along, thinks the tar baby is a real person and because it won't speak to him, punches it, kicks it, and butts it, becoming well and truly stuck fast. The next morning the old couple come along to see if they've caught the thief, and furious when they see the mouse, they take him and string him up from a stake. The mouse is called Diego. After hanging all day and all night, the next morning a fox, whose name is Antonio, appears, and seeing Diego the mouse hanging from the stake he asks him what he is doing. The mouse replies that people have hung him up because he refused to marry their daughter. The mouse then succeeds in persuading the fox that he should marry the daughter, and so the fox takes the mouse's place. Along come the old man and old woman some time later, the mouse in the meanwhile having run as far away as possible, and seeing a fox instead of the mouse they had hung from the stake, beat Antonio senseless and leave him for dead, thinking they are dealing with some kind of devil. After a while, the fox comes to, and dying for something to eat, goes off to find the mouse with the intention of eating him. When the fox finds the mouse, Diego tells him that they should hide because shortly fire will rain down on them and they will be killed. The fox thinks that the mouse is serious, and so the fox hides in a hole which the mouse was digging when he found him, and the mouse covers the entrance, unknown to the fox, with thorns. Antonio is warned by the mouse that on no account must he try to escape. Hunger forces the fox to dig his way out only to find that he has been tricked again. On the point of being eaten, however, the mouse persuades Antonio to play the drums at a fiesta he is in charge of. He instructs him to jump up and down when he sees the guests arriving with yellow flags.

What the mouse does, however, is build a corral of wood into which he places the fox. Diego, the mouse, then sets the whole lot on fire. Antonio, the fox, seeing the flames, thinks they are the flags of the guests, and begins to jump up and down and make the sound of a drum. Closer and closer the flames get until the fox is burned to death.



Informant #4

Story 1: Type 122. Motifs K1251, J1791.3, K713.1.1 (cf. K811.1.2), K550, K930.

Fox and mouse story. The fox meets the mouse who is holding up a large rock. The mouse persuades the fox to take his place and thereby escapes being eaten.

The fox, realizing he has been duped, searches for the mouse. This time, the mouse stops the fox from eating him by saying that he will fetch a bull for him to eat, and thus escapes.

Duped once again, the fox catches the mouse who claims that he couldn't bring the bull because it was too big. At that moment, the mouse points to the moon reflected in the water, and tricks the fox into believing that it is a cheese. The fox takes a flying leap at the 'cheese', plunges into the water, and drowns.

The mouse next meets a skunk. He tricks the skunk into hiding in a hole to escape a coming firestorm. The mouse covers the hole with thorns so that when the skunk puts his paws out to see if it is raining, he pricks himself and thinks he is being burned by the fire.

Worried about his children, and no longer able to stand being shut up, the skunk escapes, and finds the mouse who claims that the little skunks are learning to read in another village. The mouse, however, has eaten the skunk's young.

Story 2: Unclassified local legend.

The story begins with the Incas at the time of the Conquest of Peru, but quickly turns to the legend of the folk hero Tupac Amaru, who led a revolt during the Colonial Period, and was punished by the Spaniards by being pulled apart by horses. His family also suffered a cruel fate.

Story 3: Unclassified Type. Motif B651.1.

Story about a girl who marries a fox. There is a fox who goes and enters a girl's house. The fox talks to the girl, asks how she is, and generally talks to her. The girl asks the fox where he comes from, to which the fox says that he has come to visit her. The girl tells the fox to stay a while. The fox, having changed his appearance, looks very handsome, and he tells the girl that he has fallen in love with her. It is for this reason, he says, that he has come to



pay a visit to her. The girl asks the fox where he has seen her before, to which he answers that he has seen her while she was out walking. The fox asks the girl if she could fall in love with him, and the girl answers that she could very much. After talking for a while, the fox departs and leaves the girl alone.

The next day, the girl gets up, and calls her mother. She tells her how a boy had come, and how they had talked about getting married. The mother inquires as to how the boy had got into the house. She is somewhat puzzled as she hadn't heard any noise and the dogs hadn't barked. On being asked by her mother what the boy was like, the girl replies that he was a fine gentleman, and that she would really like to marry him. On hearing this the mother tells her daughter that she should go ahead and marry him.

The girl then leaves the house and meets an older friend of hers who is looking very sad. She tells the girl that she is sad because she is going to get married to a man not because she really wants to, but because she is afraid of ending up an old maid. On being asked if she hasn't got married yet, the girl tells her friend that she has met this wonderful gentleman with whom she has fallen in love, and that he is going to come that very afternoon to ask her mother for her hand. The two women compare their suitors, the younger woman boasting about how handsome and distinguished her man is, and how he is from a very good family. She tells her friend that her lover dresses very well. The friend, however, confesses that her man isn't distinguished at all, and that he dresses very badly since he isn't rich. The older woman claims that her younger friend has found such a good catch because she herself is from a good family, and is also an only child. The two women then leave each other, and the younger woman goes to her mother to tell her to let her lover have her in marriage. The mother agrees.

The fox, disguised as a young man, arrives and talks with the girl about getting married. She takes him to meet her mother, and he says that he will go and bring his parents so that they can go through the formalities of asking for her daughter's hand. The mother, however, doesn't like the look of the 'boy's' clothes (because he is really a fox), but the fox asserts that he is from a very good family, that they all dress the same way he does, and that if she doesn't like the way he dresses then he and her daughter won't get married. The mother replies that she likes him, and so the fox goes and gets his mother and father.

All three return to the girl's house. The fox's parents bring some lambs as gifts for the girl's mother, saying that they don't have any cattle, only sheep. The fox says he will kill a lamb so that his fiancée



can make a soup for everybody. This the girl does, and afterwards the fox's parents ask the girl's mother for her daughter's hand in marriage on their son's behalf, and so they are all set to get married.

The foxes depart in order to prepare for the wedding. They go down to the river and thoroughly wash themselves so that they won't look as much like foxes as people. The fox who is going to be married tries to sleep but can't so he talks with his sisters and his mother. They discuss what they can take as wedding presents, and they decide on a flock of lambs. The next day each of the foxes carries a lamb to the wedding and they end up filling a whole corral. The foxes then head for the church where the wedding is to take place.

The fox asks his future mother-in-law not to bring fireworks or a band to the reception since his family don't like these things and are accustomed to dancing only to a charango. The girl's mother is somewhat annoyed at this, and asks the fox how his family could possibly be afraid of a band, and adding that how could her only daughter possibly be married without a band since nobody would speak to them afterwards. The fox insists, however, and threatens to leave if the mother insists on bringing a band. The girl's mother is angry at the fox and asks how he could possibly treat her only daughter in such a way, since she loves him, and is such a fine person.

By now all the guests are arriving for the wedding, they look at the bridegroom and remark at what a fine gentleman he looks, and they are even more impressed when they see all his relatives. The wedding ceremony takes place, and afterwards everybody heads for the bride's house where the bride dances with the groom, and all the foxes, very distinguished looking, dance waynos. Alas, the girl's family, unknown to the foxes, bring a band and fireworks. When the band begins to play, and the fireworks are lit, the foxes flee in panic and fright, leaving the bride in tears.

The girl's family set off in pursuit of the groom and his family in order to find out where they live and to try and bring them back. They find out that the groom and his family are foxes, and go back and tell the bride, who has shut herself in her room, and is crying because her husband has run off. The girl says that it is all her mother's fault for not heeding the groom's instructions not to bring a band or fireworks. Her mother replies that she is crying for nothing because the groom wasn't a real person at all, but a fox. The girl is unconvinced and insists that her husband is a fine gentleman. Her mother, equally adamantly, tells her that the foxes were seen going into a gorge down by the river. After a while the



daughter is convinced that her mother is telling the truth.

The following day a lady comes to the house asking if anybody has come across a flock of sheep belonging to her. The girl's mother says that she hasn't, but the woman sees all the sheep in the corral and asks if they are hers to which the girl's mother replies that her daughter was married the day before. The woman inquires if all her lambs had been brought as presents for the bride, at which point the girl's mother tells the woman to have a seat and she will tell her what happened. She tells how the fox fell in love with her daughter, and how the foxes had all come with a lamb. She then takes the woman out to the corral and asks her if the sheep are hers. The woman verifies that all the sheep do, in fact, belong to her. The story ends with the two women discussing the problem of what to do with the daughter, and how she should try to find a good man for a husband and not a fox.

#### Informant #7

Story 1: (Not transcribed). Type 122. Motif K842.1.

Standard story of the fox and the mouse. Incorporates the themes of the mouse destroying the garden, the owners building a tar baby in which the mouse gets caught, the mouse tricking the fox into changing places with him after he is left hanging from a stake by the owners of the garden (using the ruse about being hung up because of his refusal to marry), the fox being beaten by the owners of the garden, the fox setting off to catch the mouse and eat him, and the mouse saving himself by the ruse of the pot containing food in which the fox gets stuck, by the ruse of the sun shining in the water like a cheese, and finally by the rain fire trick.

Story 2: (Not transcribed). Unclassified Type, Ogre Tale (cf. Informant #2, Story 1).

The main protagonist is a papel apaq lit. 'paper carrier', but probably means 'postman'. The postman meets a dog at an apacheta, 'cairn' (positioned at sacred or dangerous places on the road). The dog barks and the postman chases it off. The postman then finds lodgings for the night when he meets a girl who asks him to sleep with her. The girl turns out to be a condenado. The postman escapes by saying he has to go outside to relieve himself.

Story 3: (Not transcribed). Unclassified Type (cf. Informant #8, Story 5, and Informant #35, Story 1 below).

Story about a fox and a condor who bet on who can reach a mountain top first. The fox dies of the cold.

Informant #35

Story 1: (Not transcribed). Unclassified Type (cf. Informant #4, Story 3).

This story is about a fox who tricks a girl into marrying him by dressing up as a gentleman, but runs away when the music starts up at the wedding festivities.

Informant #36

Story 1: Unclassified Animal Type. Motif H1541.

Short animal story involving a fox and a condor. This is another version of Story 9 by Informant #7. A fox and a condor decide to race each other to the top of a mountain with the winner eating the loser. The fox can't make it to the top so he tells the condor to eat him.

Story 2: Type 58\*\*.

Short story involving a fox and a lluthu, 'partridge'. The fox is jealous of the partridge's whistle, and begs to be able to whistle like the partridge. The partridge takes some thread and ties the fox's mouth shut, saying that he will be able to whistle just like him. The partridge flies off whistling, saying that he will meet the fox on the other side of the mountain. The fox at first is happy because he thinks he will be able to whistle like the partridge, but when he tries to do so he rips his mouth, realizing, too late, that he has been tricked.

Informant #8

Story 1: Unclassified Type.

Story about a papel apaq, 'postman' (probably has the original meaning of a chasqui, the messengers used in Inca times, but has been up dated to refer to a postman). This short story doesn't appear to be a folk



tale as such, since it merely tells how in times gone by, before there were trains, or cars, mail was delivered on foot by men who would be positioned at every league along the road. It certainly seems as if this Informant is thinking of the chasquis.

Story 2: Unclassified Ogre Tale.

Another story about a papel apaq. This story tells about a chasqui who is out carrying messages. It gets dark, and he has to take shelter in a little cottage. Along comes a condenado. The chasqui doesn't know what to do, nor where to hide. The cottage is built with rafters, so the chasqui climbs up on to one of the rafters, unaware that it isn't strong enough to support his weight. The condenado enters the cottage, smells a man, and begins to search every corner to no avail. He stops in the doorway where the moon is shining, and, taking off his ch'ullu, or 'cap', he begins to pick the lice out of his hair. The beam where the chasqui is hiding has already begun to give way, and suddenly it breaks, sending the man crashing on top of the condenado. Terrified, the condenado runs off, leaving his cap behind. He goes up into the mountain crying all the way. The chasqui, in the meantime, has found another, safer roof, and there he sleeps until morning.

Story 3: Type (cf. Informant #2, Story 1 and Informant #7, Story 2).

The story opens with a chasqui throwing a stone at a piece of cloth which he sees hanging from a door (the entrance door to a barranco, 'gorge'). The chasqui continues on his journey until it gets dark and finds a little hut in which to spend the night. Along comes a woman with her daughter and she offers her daughter to the man. The chasqui and the woman's daughter go to bed together, and while in bed the man begins to tickle the girl. She tells the chasqui to stop because that is where he hit her earlier that day, and it is hurting her. The chasqui then realizes that the girl is actually a condenado, and wonders how he can escape. The man is wearing a sash, and he tells the condenado to take hold of one end and tie the other end to him while he goes out to urinate. This the condenado does, but when the chasqui gets outside, he ties the sash to a bush and escapes.

Story 4: Unclassified Type, probably a Local Legend.

Story about muleteers. Tells the story of how muleteers would journey to the Sierra carrying merchandise. On the road, bandits would rob them and take all their goods, and kill them. The muleteers didn't know how they could stop this. Eventually they come up with the idea of hiding soldiers in crates, and so they put a soldier in each crate and load each mule with two crates. When the group of muleteers come to the place where they are always being ambushed, they stop and set up camp for the night. The muleteers go to sleep, but the soldiers in the crates prepare themselves for attack. The bandits attack after nightfall, but the soldiers spring out of the crates and kill them. The muleteers then find the bandits' hiding place and succeed in recovering all their goods.

Story 5: Same as above.

Another version of the story about the muleteers with more detail than that above. In this version the bandits carry the crates containing the soldiers back to their hideout, and then the soldiers spring out and kill them.

Story 6: (Not transcribed). Unclassified animal tale. Motif H1541 (cf. Informant #7, Story 9 and Informant #36, Story 1).

Another version of the story about the fox and the condor in which the fox dies of the cold and is eaten by the condor.

Story 7: Origin Myth. Motifs A1.1, A220, A513, A530, A541.

This story is more of a myth than a folktale as such. It tells how Manco Qhapaq and Mama Oqlllo were sent by the Sun when people were still uncivilized and lived like animals, and dressed in leaves. Manco Qhapaq and Mama Oqlllo come to Lake Titicaca with a gold rod which the Sun had given to Manco Qhapaq. He tries to thrust it into the ground, but it won't go, so he goes in search of a place where the rod will go into the ground, for the Sun had told him to form a city wherever the rod would go into the ground. Manco Qhapaq comes to the Hill of Wanakauri, near what is now Cuzco, and there he succeeds in planting the rod in the ground. And so Manco Qhapaq begins to found the City of Cuzco. He calls together all the tribes. He makes a taklla, a 'foot plough', and shows the men how to use it to



cultivate the earth, to make fields. Manco Qhapaq's wife, Mama Oqullo, then shows the women how to make thread, to weave, and to rear children. The primitive men and women were taught how to rear alpaca, and how to sow potatoes. The people were taught how to organize themselves and to learn respect. These people didn't know these things until Manco Qhapaq was sent by the Sun.

Story 8: (Not transcribed). Local History.

Continues from the previous story. In this story the Informant tells of what happened after the death of Manco Qhapaq, although historically speaking large gaps are missing. He mentions Manco Qhapaq's son, Wayna Qhapaq, and then goes on to talk about Huascar and Atahualpa. He says that this was before the discovery of America by Columbus, and of Peru by Francisco Pizarro. He tells how the Incas ruled like kings and how they built huge walls of stone. He then talks specifically about Huascar and Atahualpa and tells how the Inca Empire, the Tawantinsuyo, was split in two, and that there was a civil war between the two brothers, and how they were killed. Lastly, he tells about the arrival of the Spaniards under Pizarro and how Peru was discovered.

#### The Folk Tales - Themes

Given that there are now Quechua folk tale narrators living in an urban situation, synopses of whose art has just been seen, the question arises as to whether the move to the city has had any effect on the stories themselves in terms of their thematic content. Do the stories reflect the new environment, and do they deal with topics which are relevant to an urban lifestyle, or do they merely reflect the old rural agricultural lifestyle, beliefs, and traditions as encountered in the Sierra? In short, are the stories nothing more than examples of folk tales passed down from father to son in accordance with the oral tradition, and now in a pro-

cess of atrophy, or has the change from a rural to an urban way of life resulted in the introduction of new elements or new themes into the stories?

The traditional Quechua folk tale in many cases is a complex amalgam of indigenous and European elements introduced by the Spaniards during and after the conquest. Many of the above tales are obviously of the Indo-European tradition, e.g. 3:1 (Informant #3, Story 1), is a Quechua version of "Aladdin" (Type 561), while 43:3 is clearly a version of "Snow White and the Seven Dwarves" (Type 709). The fox and mouse stories, e.g. 1:1 and 4:1 (Type 122), also have their counterparts in the oral literature of other folk cultures throughout the world. Also, 43:2 (Type 530), for example, is a Quechua version of a tale popular in the Norwegian tradition, "The Princess on the Glass Mountain".

The types included at the beginning of the above synopses show that Quechua folk literature has apparently borrowed extensively from the Indo-European. Obviously, stories about kings, queens, princesses, palaces, magic horses, witches, God visiting mortals, etc., can be traced back no earlier than the Spanish conquest of Peru.

Other tales are not so readily classified according to the Aarne-Thomson types, although they fit into the general type categories, e.g. 43:1 and 43:9 obviously belong between types 750 and 779 which cover the "God Repays and Punishes" theme. 44:3 has no exact type according to Aarne-Thomson, yet it is clearly an animal tale. Grimm's tale



#132, "The Fox and the Horse" is undoubtedly very similar.

Several tales clearly are 'ogre' tales, e.g. the condenado stories 2:1, 43:10, 8:2, and 8:3, but once again, there is no exact Thomson type. Other stories occur which are common to both the Quechua and Aymara traditions, although there are no exact equivalents elsewhere in world folklore, e.g. 44:3, 36:1, and 8:6 (cf. La Barre 1966:130-143).

Some stories occur which would seem to belong solely to the Quechua tradition, to local legend, history and myth, e.g. 4:2, 8:4, 8:5, 8:7, 8:8, and 32:1.

Most of the stories recorded in Arequipa fit into Thomson's type categories. Where no exact type can be found for a story, many motifs occur which are common to other folk literature throughout the world. There is no question that the stories supplied by the Arequipa informants are genuine examples of oral literature passed down from generation to generation. Stories which are part of the oral literature of other cultures throughout the world have been taken by the Quechuas and woven into an integral part of their own culture. The following table affords some indication of where the stories in this corpus fall according to the Aarne-Thomson type classification. Where a tale does not fit into any exact type it has been placed in the general area to which it appears to belong:

## TABLE II

## FOLK TALE TYPES

Animal tales (Types 1-299)	43:4 (T. 122); 44:3 (between T. 1 and T. 299); 1:1 (T. 122); 4:1 (T. 122); 4:3 (between T. 1 and T. 299); 7:1 (between T. 1 and T. 299); 35:1 (between T. 1 and T. 299); 36:1 (between T. 1 and T. 299); 36:2 (T. 58**); 8:6 (between T. 1 and T. 299).
Magical and Supernatural Tales (Types 300- 749)	2:1 (between T. 300 and T. 749); 3:1 (T. 561); 43:10 (between T. 300 and T. 749); 43:2 (T. 530); 43:11 (possibly T. 411); 44:2 (between T. 300 and T. 749); 7:2 (between T. 300 and T. 749); 8:3 (between T. 300 and T. 749); 43:3 (T. 709).
Religious Tales (Types 750- 849)	19:1 (possibly T. 810); 43:1 (between T. 750 and T. 849); 43:6 (T. 753A); 43:9 (between T. 750 and T. 849).
Novelesque Tales (Types 850- 949)	_____
Tales of Bandits and Robbers (Types 950- 999)	_____
Tales where the Devil is Tricked (Types 1000- 1199)	8:2 (between T. 1000 and T. 1199) cf. 2:1, 7:2, 8:3 .
Anecdotes and Funny Stories (Types 1200- 1699)	43:5 (T. 1381B/C); 43:7 (T. 1525A); 43:8 (T. 1530*); 44:1 (T. 1535).



TABLE II - Continued

Jokes about Priests (Types 1700- 1849)	
Stories of Trickery and Fraud (Types 1850- 1999)	
Formulaic Stories (Types 2000- 2199)	
Stories about Pranks (Types 2200- 2399)	
Non-classified (Types 2400 on)	37:1
Myth and Local Legend	32:1; 4:2; 8:4; 8:5; 8:8.

Although versions of the Quechua stories can be found in the folklore of other cultures throughout the world, their originality lies in the way they reflect the social, cultural, and religious background of the Quechuas. Their own particular beauty is provided and enhanced by the Quechua language itself. Speaking of the Quechua folktales, Arguedas says:

They describe the attitudes of their lives, the landscape, the least worldly circumstance in which

the personages move, and in such a way, with such astonishing exactitude and depth, that physical nature and the living world, animals, men and plants, appear with a ligature so intimate and vital that in the world of these stories everything moves in a kind of musical commonness. (Arguedas and Stephen 1957:180)

That the folk tale in general reflects society has been attested by Pinon who claims that the folk tale, among other things, describes the attitudes and feelings of the poor and humble towards the rich and powerful, hence the emphasis in many of the stories on the poor boy who rises from the ranks, and on making fun of the higher classes. Folk tales also reflect environment, thus a maritime environment will produce stories about the lives of sailors, whereas an agricultural, rural environment will produce stories which feature the lives of peasants (Pinon 1965:39-40). In short, while the types of the folk tale, the themes, might be universal to a great extent, the stories achieve their uniqueness not only from the individual narrators, but from the way in which details of the narrator's culture are included in the stories, e.g. clothing, tools, work, etc. As Pinon says, "Ni siquiera los seres sobrenaturales escapan a la contaminación de la realidad" (Pinon 1965:40).

The world described in the stories, however, is not the world in which the urban-dwelling Quechua speaker now finds himself. The stories set in the wilds of the Sierra, where condenados, karisiris, and other supernatural entities strongly influence the Quechua's life, and where poverty



consists not of being without a job, but with crop failure, famine, and natural disaster, make more sense to the rural Quechua than to the urban Quechua.

The stories, then, although told in an urban setting, are the product of an agricultural people. On the other hand, however, most of the city informants are not so very far removed from their agricultural, peasant background that the stories make no sense to them at all. Lack of relevance will most likely be more the case with regards to the children of the peasant immigrants who will be brought up without a first-hand awareness of what it is like to live in a rural situation, and who will, in theory, have greater access to basic education and literacy which have always been the most detrimental forces to any oral literature. In other words, it is not the city environment itself that will bring about the demise of Quechua oral literature, but rather the forces of education which will eventually orientate them towards a written literature. Television and radio will also be damaging to the Quechua folk tale, as people are drawn away from traditional entertainment forms.

In what ways can it be said that Quechua narrative folklore still has meaning although many of its narrators now live in a city? Firstly, although classed as a coastal city, Arequipa with its close proximity to a rural environment, and surrounded by the mountains of Chachani, Picchu Picchu, and El Misti has much that smacks of the Sierra. The environment of Arequipa, then, is not so incompatible

with the environment of the Quechua folk tale as might appear at first glance. Many of the pueblos juvenes being on the outskirts of the city are situated in the middle of agricultural areas. The pueblo joven, it must be remembered, is the new community for thousands of immigrants of a largely homogeneous linguistic and cultural background, albeit in varying stages of transition towards national Peruvian culture. It is this concentration of such a large group of people of like cultural background that may well serve to preserve many aspects of Quechua culture like the folk tale. Analogies may be drawn with Mexicans and Puerto Ricans in the large cities of the U.S.A. who successfully maintain their "Mexicanness" or "Puerto Ricanness" in their own neighbourhoods while participating in American culture at large, to greater or lesser degrees.

If we look at the themes themselves, although at first sight they would seem to be irrelevant to a people adapting themselves to urban living, there is much which could be classed as universal in appeal, and not solely oriented towards the sensitivities, beliefs and morality of a rural people. As Pinon says, "El cuento es un relato puramente estético sin localización en el tiempo o en el espacio" (Pinon 1965:10).

Looking specifically at the stories in the corpus, the theme of poverty is not one that is peculiar to a rural people. In stories such as 19:1, 43:1, 43:2, 43:9, and 44:1 poverty is seen as causing one to leave home, either to find



work, or, of particular relevance to the urban Quechua, perhaps, to make one's fortune in town.

Another recurrent theme, as seen in most of the fox and mouse stories, in 44:1, 43:2, and 43:9 to mention a few, is the triumph of the weak over the strong, the humble over the proud, and the uneducated over the educated, an important theme, one feels, for an emerging people like the Quechuas, with all the social, cultural, and economic pressures with which they are faced, both in the Sierra, and now in the city.

Stephan mentions the fear and distrust of the Andean Indian for the stranger (Arguedas and Stephan 1957:13). In the stories a common theme is the fate that can befall one for trusting the misti, or wiraqocha, terms used for the mestizo, or the white Peruvian classes. Girls are abducted by condors (44:2), or girls marry foxes (4:3) in the guise of mistis. The misti, however, although viewed as a threat, can also be the butt of fun as when the condor is scalded in the pot, or when the fox is frightened away by the sound of music and fireworks. La Barre, referring to the Aymara, sees the theme of animal-human marriage as signifying conflict in inter-clan marriages (La Barre 1966:140). A similar interpretation may be made of such Quechua stories as 44:2, or 4:3. Stephan maintains that such stories are dealing with the moral issue of family unity in that the sin lies not in the child's running off and having an illicit love affair with a stranger, but in the child's not confiding

in the parent (Arguedas and Stephan 1957:192).

The condenado stories, 2:1, 7:2, and 8:3, while humorous on the surface, may have a much deeper and more sinister significance. The Quechua equivalent of the 'ogre' of world folklore, the condenado is not merely a bogeyman with which to scare children. In the Quechua belief system a condenado is a person who, after death, is condemned to walk the earth for having committed incest. Thus, such stories where the figure of the condenado features might be a warning against this, especially where the hero unwittingly goes to bed with a condenado and barely escapes.

In other stories, like 44:1, the wiragocha is tricked by the zonzo, the 'fool'. In short, in many cases, the stories often reflect the contact (and conflict) between the Indian and the mestizo classes, a contact which has even greater implications and immediacy for the urban-located Indian. The stories afford him an outlet for expressing, through humour and satire, his frustrations against the people who have been putting him down.

The next question is that of whether there are any modern elements which perhaps reflect the new, urban environment of the city in the stories. The most traditional stories are those dealing with animals, e.g. 1:1, 4:1, and 4:3. There are, however, other tales whose frame of reference can be interpreted as being more directed towards the urban world as when Andrés robs the bank in "Andrés and the Devil" (19:1), to escape poverty. He has to dodge the Guardia, 'policeman',



standing at the door, and breaks into the safe, the caja fuerte, where he steals the money. At the beginning of the story, the contract made between Andrés and the Devil is not verbal, but one which the Devil suggests should be written:

"Kay qelqata ruwarakamusun kay papellllapi," nispa,  
y papeltapas qoramun riki diabloqa riki.

"Let's make a contract on this piece of paper," said the Devil, and he handed him a piece of paper.  
(19:1:lines 38-39)

Modern aspirations are seen when, in his absence, Andrés' family use the money they find to hire doctors, construct schools, and establish a home for old men.

In the story about the seven robbers (43:3), the robbers steal articles whose possession by the modern Quechua is seen as a sign of a raise in status: Bicycles, typewriters, and radios. In contrast, in the stories told by the much older Informant #8, the saltadorkuna, 'assailants', in 8:4 and 8:5 take chalonga, and ch'uñu (dried meat and dehydrated potatoes) the products of an agricultural society.

The forces of law and order, the Guardia, and the military with their revolvers appear as symbols of the modern world in 19:1, 43:1, 43:5, 43:6, 8:4 and 8:5. In 44:1, the zonzo's brothers are seen in a town environment being flung into jail on two occasions, and the reaction of the town's people to the bumpkins from the country. The town, in fact, features throughout this story as in the figure of the university student cuckolded by the priest whom he ends up shooting. The fool's brothers at the end of the story, and indeed

throughout, are seen to head for the town where in every case, misfortune strikes them. In general, the motif of town versus country appears in not a few of the stories, e.g. 44:1, 43:1, 19:1, 43:6, 43:7. Generally, the person from the country falls foul, to varying degrees, of the people from the town. The town, in short, appears in the stories as a place where the man from the country must exercise caution, although the town can also be a place to make one's fortune. Both the zonzo (44:1) and the youngest brother (43:1), for example, make a success of their visits to the town, the former by guile, the latter as a reward for having treated God with respect.

While there are stories in which the town appears, many more reflect a much more agricultural, or rural background, and old belief patterns and practices, especially in the stories dealing with the supernatural.

Curious anachronisms occur as in 14:1, line 216, where the condenado tells the young man to plough a field:

"Kunanmi kayta q'alata nanki. Kayta ararunki torowan, torowan, tractorwan hina ararunki q'alata . . ."

"Now do all this. Plough the field with an ox, with an ox, like you would with a tractor, plough it all . . ."

In other words, Informant #14, either consciously or unconsciously, has incorporated the modern anachronistic element of the tractor for immediate narrative effect. The usual method of ploughing in the Sierra is by means of the foot plough, the chaki taklla, or where space permits, by means of a yoke of oxen.



In what time reference does the urban Quechua see his stories taking place? It has already been said that folk tales are purely esthetic narratives without localization in time or space. In the stories themselves, however, certain reference to time is made which distinguishes between times past and times present. Thus Informant #32 might begin his narrative "Ñaupaqsi . . .", 'In the past . . .' (32:1). The same idea of time past might be expressed by "Unay tiempos . . . kasqa", 'A long time ago there were . . .' (8:4), and be enforced by "Mana karqanchu maquinapas ni imapas karqanchu más que animal; mulalla karqan", 'There were no trains, nothing but animals; just mules' (8:5). In other words, while most folk tales begin with some variant of "Once upon a time . . .", some distinction here appears to be drawn between the past and the modern industrial age with its cars and trains in which the Quechua now finds himself.

All of the Informants are from the Sierra, and mainly from the Departments of Puno and Cuzco. It is interesting that two of the stories include detail pertaining to the Arequipa district. This may indicate the Informant's identifying himself with his new environment. In 8:5, for example, the arrieros, 'mule drivers', journey from Arequipa to Puno. This detail may not be too significant in that the road from Arequipa to Puno was a major drovers' route, much as there are still important lines of communication between the two towns today. Informant #8, being from the Puno area, would be well aware of the links which existed between the Altiplano

and Arequipa. The use of the Majeños, 'men of Majes', in 44:3, is possibly more significant since Informant #44 is from Cuzco, and therefore there is no apparent reason to use a term from the Arequipa region. In both cases, however, there may be some indication that the Informants are trying to create a link between the location of the stories and the Arequipa-based audience. In short, they are trying to include local colour.

The corpus of Quechua folk tales found in Appendix I, synopses of which appear in this chapter, clearly indicates that for the moment there is to be found a Quechua folk tale tradition in the city among immigrants who have settled there both in the pueblos jóvenes, where the tradition is strongest, and in the inner city.

The ability to narrate folk tales was seen to be highly individualistic, and therefore it was difficult to assess the effect the urban environment of Arequipa has had, or is having, on this important aspect of Quechua culture. While it is evidently holding its own in the city, eventually it must disappear as has been the case with the oral literature of other peoples throughout the world (Carpenter 1965:19). There may be little indication that the tradition is being passed on to the second generation, but there is still a constant flow of immigrants from the Sierra who bring their story telling skills and folk tale repertoires with them, thereby keeping the tradition alive. The education and literacy process is still slow, and consequently the folk tale



still has considerable appeal to the urban Quechua audience.

The stories themselves were found, in many cases, to be Quechua versions of folk tale types occurring in the folk literature of other pre-literate people throughout the world, but with their own unique Quechua flavour to them. Thus, the stories reflected to a great extent Quechua culture as encountered in the Sierra environment. Nonetheless, while the setting is often agricultural and rural, it was seen that modern elements and the motif of the town, or town versus country, also occur.

The stories were not seen to be totally irrelevant to the urban Quechua immigrant. While amusement is clearly an important function of any folk literature there are also other, deeper functions (Bascom 1965:290-295). Thus, in the case of the Quechua stories, there was some indication of their transcending geographical boundaries and dealing with much deeper aspects of morality and belief, e.g. the issue of family loyalty and unity, and incest. The stories were also satirical in tone in several instances with the contact and conflict between the Indian and the mestizo being an important theme. The town is treated somewhat ambivalently, being both a place to achieve success, but also a place where disaster is ever present for the unwary. The relevance to the urban Quechua is evident here.

In the case of the Quechua folk tale, then, there is an example of one important aspect of Quechua culture surviving in the city, which hints not at the rejection of Quechua

culture by the immigrant to the city, but of a continued identity with it. The folk tale, however, is but one indication of the Quechua cultural presence in the urban environment. The following chapter will examine other indicators of Quechua cultural maintenance.



## CHAPTER IV

### OTHER ASPECTS OF QUECHUA FOLKLORE IN THE CITY:

#### RIDDLES, FOLK SONG AND DANCE, AND

#### NON-TRADITIONAL NARRATIVE

In the previous chapter, it was seen that Quechua artistic expression as represented in the traditional folk tale still continues in the city among the immigrants, although this aspect of Quechua folklore would appear to be threatened by the same fate as has befallen the oral literature of other folk cultures when confronted by urbanization. The folk tale, albeit, perhaps, the most important aspect of Quechua folklore, is but one facet of Quechua folk culture as a whole. In this chapter other aspects of Quechua folklore will be discussed in relation to the overall question of the maintenance of folk traditions in the face of the urbanization process. Other examples of Quechua folklore to be considered here are the riddle, folk song and dance, and what will be termed non-traditional narrative, i.e. personal narratives in which the Informants talk about aspects of life in the Sierra which they recall. The material collected under these categories was not as extensive as for some of the other areas studied, hence these aspects of Quechua folklore also encountered in the urban setting will be grouped together and discussed here in a single chapter.

The Riddles

In general, the collection of riddles among pueblo joven residents was considerably easier than was the case with the folk tales. This can be attributed to the fact that less time and concentration is demanded from the Informant in telling a riddle than in narrating a folk tale. Also, it is much easier to recall a riddle of two or three lines than to remember a story involving long descriptions, and considerable attention to detail.

Several questions arise concerning riddles in general and Quechua riddles in particular. Firstly, what is meant by a riddle? What does it consist of? In other words, what definition and categorization can be applied to the riddle as a folklore phenomenon? The second question which arises, and in the light of which the riddles in this corpus will be considered, is the characteristics of the riddle and of those who indulge in riddling. The third question involves the function of the riddle, and in particular the part riddling has to play in Quechua culture. Finally, the question of riddling in urban environments will be examined. Can the Quechua riddling tradition, as with the other aspects of Quechua folk culture, survive the transition from a rural to an urban setting, from a peasant to an urban culture?

The riddles collected among the Quechuas in Arequipa basically all fall under the category of what Hart calls the "descriptive, true, or folk riddle", as opposed to the literary riddle (Hart 1964:24). The main characteristics of the



folk riddle as outlined by folklorists such as A. J. Wyatt, J. H. Pitman, F. Tupper, and A. Taylor, and cited by Hart are: "(1) briefer statement; (2) lacks purposeful polish; (3) avoids conflicting details associated with two or more themes; (4) rarely deals with abstract themes; (5) general group familiarity of the subject matter; (6) widespread occurrence of analogous riddles in other societies; and (7) was not purposely composed for publication" (Wyatt 1912:xxix; Pitman 1925:i; Tupper 1910:xvi; and Taylor 1943:143 and 1948:2 cited by Hart 1964:24).

The folk riddle can be divided into two types. The first or true descriptive riddle is based on questions which provide the hearer with sufficient information to guess the answer, whereas the second demands certain special information on the part of the listener which is not found in the question. This latter type of folk riddle is what Taylor calls the "shrewd question" (Taylor 1949:3). The Quechua riddles as seen below virtually all belong to the first type, with the exception of one narrated by Informant #18, which is more in the nature of a puzzle or brain teaser.

Several different definitions for the riddle have been formulated. Archer Taylor, who is generally acknowledged to have provided the greatest contribution to the study of the riddle, saw the riddle's structure as consisting of two descriptive elements, one of which is positive and metaphorical, and the other of which is negative and literal, although the metaphorical element is meant to be taken literally by the

listener in order to fox him (Hart 1964:25). An example fitting this definition might be 'What has ears and cannot hear?' to which the answer would be 'corn'. Unfortunately, as Hart points out, Taylor's definition has some serious flaws, e.g. not all riddles have a positive element that is metaphorical, nor a negative element that is literal, whilst there are some riddles, to cite Georges and Dundes, that "consist of no more than a literal description" (Georges and Dundes 1963:112 cited by Hart 1964:24). The inconsistencies in Taylor's definition led Georges and Dundes to formulate a definition which would more adequately describe the riddle:

A riddle is a traditional verbal expression which contains one or more descriptive elements, a pair of which may be in opposition: the referent is to be guessed. (Georges and Dundes 1963:113 cited by Hart 1964:25)

This definition leads to the conclusion that there are two categories of riddles, a) "nonoppositional" and b) "oppositional". The former do not contain "descriptive elements in opposition" and can be either literal or figurative without being contradictory. In the latter type, however, we do find descriptive elements placed in opposition and containing either totally metaphorical descriptions, or a combination of literal and metaphorical descriptions (Hart 1964:25).

Having established what is meant by a riddle, it is now time to examine the riddles which make up the corpus with a view to their categorization and classification. Of the 45 Informants, 11 narrated a total of 36 riddles as can be seen below. Most are in Quechua, with the exception of two



narrated by Informant #21, and 1 by Informant #7 which were told in Spanish. The following are the English translations of the riddles together with the solutions, the original Quechua text may be examined in Appendix II:

Informant #7

Riddle 1: You beat a man, punch him, and kick him, but he doesn't die. You beat him and kick him but he doesn't die; punch him and kick him but he doesn't die. Whenever you put him in water, he dies. What is it?

Solution: There is nothing left of it if it goes into water. It's paper, that dissolves. The wind can carry it from one hillside to the next, but once it falls into water it dies.

---

Riddle 2: "Don't make me mad, because if you get me angry I'll burn you with fire from the town!" he says. "I'm a devil, and easily get angry," says the man who is wearing a brown hat and sitting in the saddle of a horse. "Don't dare make me mad!" he says. What is it?

Solution: It's a candle. With fire, with a match you set the candle alight and it can burn us. That's it.

---

Riddle 3: Guess if you can. A woman turning round is with the milk maid. What is it?

Solution: It's the distaff when we make thread. It's the distaff when it fills with thread, as we know.

---

Riddle 4: Guess if you can. "Push me from behind and I'll chew wherever you want me to," says the grub. What's that?

Solution: Scissors.

---

Riddle 5: From a hillside two eyes like stars are watching. What is it?

Solution: It's your eyes that are looking from the hillside.

---

Riddle 6: Some drunk men are in a store. They look out from the store. Girls, they are in love with you. What is it? They love you very much, girls, and they are looking at you a lot. What is it, then? They are really looking at you a lot, and they are very much in love with you, girls. What is it?

Solution: It's your teeth.

---

Riddle 7: Guess if you can. On the side of a big mountain there is a large garland.

Solution: It's your ears.

---

Riddle 8: Guess if you can. Whether day or night it has four or five feet. What is it?

Solution: It's called 'the little worm of the world'. It's shade, shadow.

---

Riddle 9: Guess if you can. It's day in the morning and afternoon, and night at night. What is it?

Solution: The day on a clock. The time on a clock during the day, and the time on a clock at night. It's time.

---

#### Informant #18

Riddle 1: Guess if you can. Two are hairy and one is naked. What is it?

Solution: The yoke of oxen.

---



Riddle 2: (Note: This is not strictly a riddle, but rather a puzzle, or brain teaser.)

Three men are on their way to town. On the way to town, the river arose and so there was no way they could get across. However, on the river bank there was a little reed boat. One of the travellers was fat and the other two were thin. The boat, however, could only carry the two thin men together, or the fat man on his own. How did they get across?

Solution: First the two thin men went across together, then one went back. Next, the fat man went across. The thin man who had stayed on the other side went back across, and finally the the two thin men crossed together.

---

#### Informant #19

Riddle 1: Guess if you can. It speaks without a tongue and without a mouth. What could that be?

Solution: A letter.

---

Riddle 2: First of all, there was a man. In the beginning he walked with four legs, then with two legs, and finally with three legs. What could that be?

Solution: A woman gives birth to her child who crawls along on the ground. Here he has four legs. When the boy becomes a man, he is two-legged, for he walks with two legs. He is three-legged when he becomes an old man and walks with a stick. And that is it.

---

#### Informant #21

Riddle 1: Small as a mouse, but guards the house like a lion. What will it be?

Solution: A padlock and key.

---

Riddle 2: A loaded mule enters a tunnel and comes out without its load.

Solution: A spoon and mouthful of food.

---

Informant #23

Riddle 1: There was a girl. While dancing she begins to take short steps.

Solution: A distaff.

---

Informant #32

Riddle 1: Guess if you can. From the top of a big mountain a blue ass is braying.

Solution: Bell.

---

Riddle 2: Guess if you can. Two girls are laughing who are standing opposite each other.

Solution: Our teeth.

---

Informant #36

Riddle 1: "Push me from behind and I'll go wherever you want."

Solution: Scissors.

---

Riddle 2: "Entering through one door, I'll come out through two."

Solution: It means you are putting on trousers. Trousers.

---

Riddle 3: Guess if you can. The child is in the corral and the mother goes about carrying two onions and four little jugs.

Solution: A milk cow.

---



Informant #37

Riddle 1: Guess if you can. Where are you going when your mother is biting and crying. You come and go but could you find your mother? What is it?

Solution: It's a pig.

---

Riddle 2: Cross the water, cross the water. Cross the water when your mother cries. Where are your words, where are your words? When it has been there and gone, and the hole has been passed through, she is no longer with child. What is it?

Solution: It's a man.

---

Informant #40

Riddle 1: From a red cave in the rock a blue ass is braying.

Solution: Not supplied by this Informant, but from this Informant's third riddle below, and from the similar riddle told by Informant #32, the solution would appear to be a church bell.

---

Riddle 2: Guess if you can. From the foot of a red rock an ant comes out and goes back in, comes out and goes back in.

Solution: Again the solution is not supplied, but the answer is probably a church.

---

Riddle 3: Guess if you can. From the side of a red mountain a blue ass is braying, "Ee haw, ee haw, ee haw, ee haw, ee haw." What's that?

Solution: That's a church bell. A church bell goes, "Dong dong." That's what it is.

---

Riddle 4: Guess if you can. It lies hidden but is good to eat.

Solution: I'll tell you what lies hidden and would be good to eat. Don't you understand, stupid? Cow's milk!

---

Riddle 5: Push me from behind and I'll quickly pass  
over a blue lake and a red lake.

Solution: Not given, but is by comparison with similar  
riddles told by Informants #7 and #36,  
scissors.

---

Riddle 6: Guess if you can. A little seamstress with  
one eye.

Solution: Not given, but probably the answer is a needle.

---

Riddle 7: Guess if you can. A little old lady with a  
hundred eyes.

Solution: A sieve, for sieving sand.

---

Riddle 8: Guess if you can. When it's down it hits and  
when it's up it's a wanderer.

Solution: Not given, but may be some kind of digging  
stick, a stick used for threshing, or a  
grinder.

---

#### Informant #43

Riddle 1: Guess if you can. What is it that goes "ping  
pong" up and "ping pong" down?

Solution: A grinding stone.

---

#### Informant #45

Riddle 1: Guess if you can. It strikes you in the face,  
but you can't see it. What is it?

Solution: The wind.

---

Riddle 2: Guess if you can. It has two ears and a big  
beak. What is it?

Solution: Scissors.

---



Riddle 3: Guess if you can. I'm small like a mouse,  
but guard the house like a lion. What am I?

Solution: A padlock.

---

Riddle 4: Guess if you can. Two little brothers are  
walking along together. When they become  
old men their eyes begin to open.

Solution: Shoes.

---

#### Quechua Riddles - Commentary

From the above, it can be seen that the riddles have a total of 26 solutions, of which one is unknown. The second riddle by Informant #18 and the second riddle by #19 are not included among these as they are really more in the nature of puzzles or brain teasers. The solutions fall into 10 main categories as seen below. Informant #40's eighth riddle I have placed under miscellaneous as the solution is unknown. I feel sure, however, that it most likely belongs to the agricultural category or to household:

<u>Category</u>	<u>Solution</u>	<u>Informant providing Solution</u>
Agriculture	Yoke of Oxen	#18
Written Records	Letter	#19
	Paper	# 7
Household	Spoon	#21
	Candle	# 7
	Padlock	#21, #45
Domestic Animals	Milk cow	#36
	Pig	#37
Clothing & Their Manufacture	Distaff	# 7, #23
	Scissors	# 7, #36, #40, #45
	Trousers	#36
	Shoes	#45
	Needle	#40

<u>Category</u>	<u>Solution</u>	<u>Informant providing Solution</u>
Human/The Body	Man	#19, #37
	Teeth	# 7, #32
	Eyes	# 7
	Ears	# 7
Religion	Church	#40
	Bell	#32, #40(2 riddles)
Food & Its Preparation	Milk	#40
	Sieve	#40
	Grinding Stone	#43
Weather & Natural Elements	Wind	#45
	Shadow	# 7
Time	Watch/Time	# 7
Miscellaneous	1 Unknown	#40

One problem that arises in the categorization of the solutions is that a solution might actually fit into several categories, e.g. 'yoke of oxen' while placed in the agricultural category could also be representative of the domestic animal class. 'Candle', here placed in the household class, could also be taken as religious.

On the whole, the above riddles fit the various criteria as previously outlined which describe the true folk riddle. Informant #18, Riddle 2 is an exception. Some indeed are of the oppositional type, e.g. #19's riddle about the letter. Others, such as #36's riddle about the milk cow, are nonoppositional, and involve a metaphorical description and a literal description with the cow being described in terms of a woman carrying two onions and four little jugs (metaphorical) representing the udder while the literal element consists of the child being in the corral.



The solutions are not unique to Quechua culture, although the word pictures created in many cases are. Hart, writing about Filipino riddles shows that they too have riddle solutions such as 'scissors', 'needle', 'church', etc., to name but a few (Hart 1964).

The uniqueness of the Quechua riddles stems not from the solutions, which can be found in the riddles of other cultures, and which has been seen to be an important trait of the folk riddle, but in the descriptions, metaphorical and literal, which lead to the solutions. Thus, when the Quechua describes the church bell as an ass braying from a red mountain, he is describing a feature to be found in his own cultural milieu from which the imagery he employs is derived. Similarly, when the distaff is described as a girl dancing with short steps, the Quechua is describing a commonly used artifact in his culture with word pictures drawn from another facet of his culture, in this case, the particular style of dancing found among the people of the Sierra. It is fairly obvious that cultural borrowings have taken place in the Quechua riddle, certainly in terms of the solutions, however, the descriptions, especially when done in Quechua (see Appendix II), reflect the Quechua's way of looking at things. In short, I would say that the descriptions are Quechua, while the solutions, in many cases, cross cultural boundaries.

The Quechua language, then, and especially the images employed, are what give the riddles in this corpus their

uniqueness, although riddling is a facet of folklore which is universal, and similar solutions to those seen above can be found in widely varying cultures of the world. Even in the case of the brain teaser narrated by Informant #18, the image of the balsa, 'reed boat', turns a common international puzzle into a Quechua one.

One of the major characteristics of riddles is that the solutions all deal with commonplace, familiar objects. Riddling's appeal lies not in trying to make someone guess a solution which is rare, or totally unfamiliar, but in disguising a familiar everyday object so well that the audience cannot guess the solution. This is adequately demonstrated from the solutions in this corpus. None of the solutions could be classed as exotic, and indeed most are objects readily found around the home and/or used in the day-to-day activities of the people. Notice that the body provides a relatively large number of solutions in relation to the total corpus, as do clothing and articles associated with clothing manufacture. Although the riddles were told by Informants now residing in the city, the subject matter of the riddles, for the most part, reflects activities more associated with the peasant way of life in the Sierra with its attendant emphasis on self sufficiency, and subsistence rather than on the money-oriented consumer society with which they are now more associated through having moved to the city.

Another characteristic of riddles mentioned by Hart is their use of 'nonsense' or obscure words (Hart 1964:32).



The function of these might be onomatopoeic. Certainly onomatopoeic words are found such as "ping pong" used to describe the sound made by the grinding stone (Informant #43). There are, however, no 'nonsense' words used to hide the meaning of specific words and which refer to specific objects such as Hart mentions, and which may be used for the purpose of rhyming (Hart 1964:34). On the other hand, several cultures do make use of apparently meaningless stock phrases as a preliminary to each riddle. In this case, as can be seen from the texts in Appendix II, there is wide usage of the standard phrase Imasmari, imasmari . . ., which in one instance (Informant #37) is replaced by the Spanish Adivina, adivinador, 'Guess, guesser'. Lira also translates the Quechua phrase this way, maintaining that the phrase is a contraction of Imas ma ari, 'What is it then . . .?' (Lira n.d.:93).

With regards to the riddles themselves, the question arises as to whether age and sex have any relation to telling riddles. Age and sex do influence the telling of riddles in some cultures, but their influence varies from culture to culture. Hart mentions that riddling among Filipinos is the product of both adults and children, while in the case of various African and Burmese groups, it is a purely childhood activity (Hart 1964:36). Goldstein shows, with reference to tinkers in Aberdeenshire, Scotland, that riddling can occur between children and adults, while Taylor suggests that riddles appeal more to children due to the nature and manner of

description of the riddle subjects, as well as to the child's way of looking at things often being reflected in the riddle's description (Goldstein 1963:332; Taylor 1962:206-207).

Hart points out, however, that while riddles may be more popular among children in certain societies, "Riddling is associated with many adult activities" (Hart 1964:38). It has been suggested with regards to the influence of sex on riddling that males tell riddles about objects related to male activities, while women will riddle about objects related to female activities.

In the case of the Quechua riddles, age and sex do not appear to be very significant. Both sexes told riddles with the Informants' ages ranging from 16 years to 65 years. Regarding the subjects, men told riddles about objects related to female activities, e.g. the puska, 'distaff' (#23), while women told riddles about male related objects or activities, e.g. pantalón, 'trousers' (#36). In short, riddling among the Quechuas appears to be neither influenced by age nor sex, but to be a general activity, and form of amusement.

While the question of the relation of sex and age to riddling does not seem to have much bearing on riddling among the Quechuas, the question of the function of the riddle in the culture may have greater import. What does appear certain is that riddles and folktales both require time, and consequently both are activities associated with breaks in work, with leisure. This is not to say, however, that riddling is merely an innocent form of amusement to while away the time.



There may prove to be more complex reasons why people tell riddles, particularly in peasant societies as opposed to urban societies.

Hart hypothesizes that, ". . . riddling (and riddling invention) varies inversely with the degree of urbanization-industrialization of a society." In his study of riddling in the Philippines, he reports that riddling in that area seems to be in the decline, although he shows that this is not the case among some African cultures (Hart 1964:42-43). Here the fact that the latter group are a 'primitive culture' in contrast to the former which is peasant may be significant and support theories held by scholars like Huizinga who argues that riddling is a product of early civilization which develops into more complex forms such as mystic philosophy and recreation as civilization develops (Huizinga 1949:111). Riddles, then, are thought to be the product of less advanced cultures which disappear as the culture reaches a higher plane.

The popularity of the riddle declines in relation to whether the culture is 'primitive', peasant or urban. Obviously, the Quechuas' interest in riddling is strongest in the Sierra where the peasant culture is still prevalent. In the cities in Peru people still tell riddles, however, the riddles in the corpus being examples of this. But, as Escobar points out, it is only the immigrants from the rural areas who still practise riddling. The long-term city residents who have lived in the city for generations show little interest in riddling as an activity (Escobar 1954:6). Riddling in Peru,

according to Escobar, was most popular in the 18th Century, but has been in steady decline since (Escobar 1954:6).

It is generally considered by folklorists that riddling's vitality, in terms of riddle contests, depends on the introduction of new subjects to riddle about. If new elements aren't introduced, the tradition stagnates and riddling eventually dies out. Hart points out that this is only the case with riddle contests, and that riddling may continue at other levels. People may still enjoy riddles even although they are well acquainted with the solutions (Hart 1964:46). It is the manner of telling, the verbal artistry, that provides the entertainment.

It is difficult to say why the Quechuas tell riddles. Certainly they are a form of entertainment, but do they have other functions? Riddles in other cultures may have very important roles connected with agricultural rites, and in religious ceremonies. Hart mentions the use of riddles in the Philippines to while away the night hours at a wake and to keep the vigilants awake (Hart 1964:46). The death of a person is an occasion when family and friends gather, and therefore lends itself to riddling and the narration of folk tales. Frazer and Huizinga both show the connection between the telling of riddles and the outcome of the harvest in South East Asia: the successful outcome of the harvest is thought to depend on the solving of riddles (Huizinga 1949:108; Frazer 1914:122). In some societies, then, riddles are restricted to certain events and times of the year. Whether



riddling among the Quechua follows similar patterns remains to be seen. Informant #36 perhaps gives us some insight into why people indulge in telling riddles and folk tales:

Por ejemplo, los que hablan Quechua en la Sierra, por ejemplo, una noche que están conversando como en Castellano de cualquier cosa, en vez de conversar se cuentan pués, o un juego hacen ¿no? Porque dicen ahora, "¿Quién cuenta un cuento?" "Yo lo cuento. Yo sé un cuento bien bonito!" "¡A ver, a ver!" Ya todos quieren escuchar. Hay a veces chistes; hay a veces, uno me dió sustos. Ese cuentan. Por eso le hacen un cuento. Bueno, adivinanzas también pués. Uno fracasa, o uno triunfa adivinando ¿no? Eso es un chiste. Eso le hacen pues.

She goes on to compare the telling of riddles to how a teacher in school will give questions to the children which they have to answer. The riddles are a form of entertainment when people gather together, but they are a form of entertainment which provides an outlet for competition and release of tension in a society where normally everyone has to work not for individual advancement, but for the good of the community as a whole.

Failure to answer a riddle, as seen in Informant #40's provision of the solution to her 4th riddle (See translations) which the audience couldn't guess, can result in pretend mockery or derision, but this is given and taken in good spirit. The riddles for the Quechua are also an important vehicle for transmitting humour and wit.

Finally, although many of the riddles were collected in an unnatural setting, i.e. when the Informants were at work, two occasions arose which could indicate that there is a connection between riddle telling and story telling. Hart,

referring to the case of the Dahomeans, says that folk tale sessions begin with a period of riddling which helps to get the proceedings under way (Hart 1964:63). In the case of Informant #40, she began a taping session by telling the riddles included above, and then the other Informants present, #36, #41 and #42, supplied material. In a similar situation where family members were present, #7 began by telling folk tales, but then switched to riddles after which his son and nephew entered into the session. The evening's taping was then concluded with some riddles. In short, riddling and the telling of tales may well prove to be joint components of an evening's entertainment with the riddles providing an interlude to enable someone to think of a further story to tell, and to get the audience and the riddlers/narrators warmed up. What seems certain is that both the riddles and the tales find their best expression when the Informant has an audience to address his material to rather than to a bare microphone. Optimum performance requires the right atmosphere which is provided by the presence of family and friends. The relatively small number of riddles collected may, therefore, only be a fraction of those that in reality under normal conditions the pueblo joven dwellers remember and can recite.

To summarize, the tradition of riddling appears to be another facet of Quechua culture that is surviving in the city. The ability to tell riddles was seen to be restricted neither by age nor by sex. Eventually, the ability to riddle



will most likely diminish and die out as has happened with other cultures. Nonetheless, there are still a considerable number of people who can recite Quechua riddles in the city environment. This tradition, as with that of the folk tale, is maintained and reinforced by the continued influx of immigrants from the Sierra. The subject matter of the riddles clearly reflects a peasant culture, however, and with the exception of the 2 brain teasers narrated by Informants #18 and #19, there are few elements which could be considered to be new or modern. For the moment, however, there is little evidence of Quechuas in the city rejecting this aspect of their culture. For some time to come, it will most likely continue to be a source of wit, humour, and verbal artistry. As with the case of the folk tale, evidence of riddling among city Quechuas would seem to point to cultural maintenance rather than cultural atrophy.

#### Quechua Folk Music in the City

While the Quechua folk tale and the riddle are to be found in the urban environment, perhaps nowhere is the Quechua's adherence to, and identity with his own culture more to be found than in his own folk music. Even people who have forgotten the art of telling stories, or riddles, still enjoy the music which has developed over the centuries as a mixture of indigenous and Spanish elements.

Quechua music and its following as now encountered among immigrants in Arequipa, takes two main forms: a) active participation where the people themselves still maintain the

ability to sing and play Quechua folk music, and b) passive appreciation, where although a person's musical ability has diminished, his appreciation of it has not, and Quechua music is listened to on the radio, such as is performed by professional and semi-professional musicians, or by attending performances given by Quechua folk song and dance groups on tour from places such as Puno or Cuzco. The serrano living in the city derives little pleasure from listening to the valse criollos whose tonal and lyrical qualities are essentially alien to him, but comes alive at the sounds and rhythms of the waynos, carnavales, bailecitos, etc., and at their lyrics which describe emotions in images which he can understand: the images of the Sierra. Here, the music as such will not be discussed, this being more the task of the musicologists, but in the lyrics of the songs there can be seen not only another example of the conservation of the Quechua language, but also the highest expression of the sensitivity of the Indian. The songs, it might be suggested, also serve to foster a strong link with the Quechua/Sierra culture on the part of the immigrant to the city, and to promote a pride in this identity.

Some of the lyrics, as will be seen, are strikingly relevant to the Quechua seeking a new lifestyle in the city, and are far from redundant in the new cultural ambience. Talking of the importance of musical traditions, Lomax says that they:



. . . can serve as a bridge of dignity and continuity for the people of a simple culture as they move across the stream to change into their uncertain future. A verse can recall a whole epoch; a turn in a tune can hearten a people through a generation of struggle; for if the written word preserves and expands knowledge, the multilevelled symbolic structure of music and art can preserve and expand a life-style.  
(Lomax 1968:6)

### Quechua Music in History

Little need be said here with regards to the history of Andean music. Studies of the development of Quechua music from its Inca origins have been done by such scholars as Harcourt and Lara (Harcourt 1925; Lara 1960). The former deals with the subject more from a musical standpoint, whereas the latter looks at Quechua song more in terms of its being poetry set to music, and of its development as poetry from Inca times to the present.

Briefly, however, it seems clear that music held an important place in Inca culture, where songs were essentially, as Stephan mentions, the stories of important events, e.g. a major victory put into verse by official court poets known as Haravecs (Arguedas and Stephan 1957:7). The most important point to be made, however, is that when we talk about Quechua music we are really talking about poetry set to music. Not all Inca music consisted of songs of victory. There were also love songs and hymns, the latter being sung at religious festivals (Arguedas and Stephan 1957:8). Citing the case of a song collected by J. M. B. Farfán, Stephan demonstrates that some very old songs dating back to the Inca period can still turn up today. Examples of Quechua poetry have been

collected all the way from Inca times, through the colonial period, right up until the present. There is also, of course, the Quechua play, Ollantay, of doubtful authorship, which is written in verse. On the whole, however, while there are collections of Quechua poetry, most of the old Inca hymns have been lost. Music and poetry connected with the Inca religion were banned by the missionaries, and this most probably accounts for their loss (Arguedas and Stephan 1957:10). Most Quechua poetry found today, therefore, with a few exceptions, is of relatively modern composition.

#### Contemporary Quechua Music

The vast majority of Quechua poetry to be found today consists of the lyrics to songs, and in particular to the waynos, which as Arguedas says find greatest expression, and the least dilution by Spanish in Southern Peru, in contrast to Central and Northern Peru where there is greater Spanish influence (Arguedas and Stephan 1957:174).

Arguedas also attests to the different levels of mixing of Quechua and Spanish elements in the wayno, and to the varying antiquity of the wayno:

Indian huaynos exist whose language and music seem to demonstrate pre-hispanic antiquity . . . others of totally Spanish character belong to the exclusive repertory of the classes whose process of cultural transformation has concluded. (Arguedas and Stephan 1957:174)

Whatever the degree of mestizaje, the fact remains that the music and lyrics of the wayno is a product of the Sierra and its people, in the main Quechuas, and not of the coast, where



the musical mode of expression is the vals, and the marinera of which the lyrics are exclusively in Spanish. This is important to realize since we are looking at the survival and practice of a folk art from the Sierra in an environment where previously it scarcely existed. Quechua music has been taken by migrants to the cities of the coast. While the lyrics to the songs may contain some Spanish, the rhythm and sentiment are still the product of the Indian.

Lira, talking of Quechua love poetry, sees it as an ongoing tradition, and not the product of the past. Poems, in the Sierra at least, are constantly being composed and set to music by successive generations of Quechuas:

No se puede hablar de una muy remota antigüedad de estos cantos de amor. Está en un nacer y morir, revivir y renovarse continuo. Nuevos amores hacen nuevas poesías. Yo no veo en estas joyas de inspiración, fórmula tradicional alguna. Los troveros indios, en esto casi no siguen eso de recibir una cosa modelada y repetirla. No guardan esta norma. El galán produce y crea todo el material artístico necesario para su conquista de amor. (Lira 1956:9)

While the theme of love is an important one in Quechua poetry past and present, it is not the only one. There are songs which are sung on special occasions such as a fiesta, a betrothal, cattle branding, bullfight, etc. There are other songs which are sung while working in the fields, harvest songs, and threshing songs. As Arguedas says:

The huayno is the dance in which the merriment and popular voluptuousness are freely released, and that which recognizes the inspiration of the Quechua people in all its blendings. (Arguedas and Stephan 1957:174)

In the songs, the life of the Indian in Sierra can be seen. He is depicted as being a part of nature, but also as being

in a constant struggle with it. Not surprisingly much of the imagery used to describe this struggle is based on the wildlife of the mountains. The animals and flowers, too, are seen as having a harsh existence like the Indian. Consequently, empathy exists between the Indian and the animals, birds, and flowers of the Sierra, empathy created by the common struggle to survive.

While the imagery, the poetic picture seen in the Quechua songs is so heavily focussed on the Sierra, this is not to say that they cease to have any meaning for the city-dwelling Indian. As will be seen, the theme of loneliness, of fortitude in the face of difficulty encountered away from home, features in several songs.

While the relevance of the songs from the Sierra to the Indian in the pueblo joven is important, more important is the role, albeit perhaps an unconscious one, in fostering and maintaining identity with and attachment to one's cultural origins, i.e. to the Quechua culture of the Sierra, even though the move to the city is permanent in most cases. The songs, more than any other facet of folk culture, with the exception perhaps of Quechua folk religion which will be discussed in Chapter V, really preserve a Quechua identity, for they describe people's dress in the Sierra, their crafts, their daily routine, and the landscape and animals with which they are acquainted. An examination of some of the songs sung by the Informants will demonstrate some of the above points. Whereas the folk tales describe a mythical fairy-tale



world, the songs describe the feelings, emotions, and lives of very real people.

### The Songs in the Corpus

Most of the songs in the corpus fall into the various theme categories mentioned above. A total of 24 songs were recorded from 13 Informants, most of whom sang individually. Two songs, however, were sung as duets by Informants #15 and #23. Not all the songs were well sung, or possible to transcribe and/or translate with any degree of accuracy, therefore only some representative examples will appear here. The length of the songs and their translations has necessitated their being placed in Appendix III.

Some of the songs or versions of the songs appear in other anthologies of Peruvian poetry or music, while others appear completely new. Nonetheless, the imagery of the songs, as will be observed, is that of the Sierra, and of nature, although in a few cases (perhaps examples of more mestized music), the images of the town can be seen, e.g. Informant #37 sings a love song in which the girl is courted by the man who owns the corner store - esquina tiendayoq. Even here, however, the song moves away from town images to images based in the Quechua culture, in this case, the bullfight, which although obviously taken from the Spanish, has become integrated into the Quechua culture in certain regions of the Sierra. Taking the vocabulary as a criterion, this song bears a more mestizo stamp than a purely indigenous one, as can be seen from the number of Spanish word roots in the following verse, where

the Spanish words have been underlined:

<u>Soleschallay</u> , <u>soles</u> ,	My little <u>soles</u> ,
<u>Tustunchallay</u> , <u>tustun</u> ,	My little <u>tustun</u> ,
Maytan <u>tiendapitaq</u> ,	Which store shall I go to,
<u>Cambiachisqayki</u> ,	To get change for you,
<u>Sencillachisqayki</u> ?	To get change for you?

While much of the vocabulary is Spanish, the music and perhaps even the sentiment verge more towards the Quechua cultural pole. On looking at other indicative examples of songs in the corpus, there can be seen a considerable variety of themes, the traditional and the modern, the strictly Indian and the more mestizized.

However these songs may be classified, it would appear, based on the observation of people in the pueblos jóvenes playing music for their own amusement, that the inhabitants of the pueblos jóvenes still like to sing and play their own music as a pastime, or more accurately, that there is a sector that continues this practice. Informants #13 and #14 are cases in point. The former possessed his own mandolin on which to accompany himself, while the latter was soon able to borrow an instrument from a neighbour when asked to play. Perhaps this is a fact of little significance, but it does afford some indication that Quechua folk music still has a place in the culture of the urbanizador, the urban Indian.

The only song sung by Informant #9 is most definitely an example of a traditional carnaval from Apurimac, where the Informant is from. At the end of her collection, Pagaza includes two carnavales from Apurimac (Pagaza 1967:38-40). The example sung by #9 almost seems to be an amalgam of both these



songs, or perhaps the opposite is the case with two songs having developed from one, e.g. the first song begins:

Chayraqmi chayraqmi chayarqamuski  
 Chayraqmi chayraqmi chayarqamuski  
 Wayrachawan vientuchawan parischaykukuspa

These lines are almost identical to the beginning of #9's song, although the rest is completely different. On moving to the second song in Pagaza's collection, it appears to be almost the same as verses 3 and 4 in #9's version:

Yau yau puka polleracha  
 Yau yau grosella rebozo  
 Imata ruranki saray ukhupi  
 Wikuña punchitu maqtachaykiwan  
 Mamaykimanmi willaykumusaq  
 Taytaykimanmi willaykumusaq . . .

The remaining two lines are different in vocabulary, but similar in theme. There are enough similarities between #9's song and those collected by Pagaza to show that it is indeed a legitimate piece of Quechua folklore. Informant #9 said that he learned the song from his father.

The three songs sung by Informant #13 are among the best in the corpus, for several reasons, over and above the obvious talent of this Informant as a folk musician. Not the least of the reasons is the purity of the Quechua in the songs. Spanish vocabulary is minimal. The themes, especially, are typical of those mentioned above. In the first song the theme of the harshness of the Indian's life and of his relationship to nature is seen. The person in the song tells how his mother gave birth to him in a lonely gorge, wayq'o, leaving him to be torn apart by the condor, and the vulture, sakchi. The world is, therefore, portrayed as a very cruel place, especially

for man. In contrast, the fish in the river live happily and pity the life that man has to live.

The second song also derives its images from nature. The man is rejected or abandoned by his love, whom he refers to as a thorn, t'ankar kiskacha, a bramble. He asks the girl how much she loved him, saying that she would have loved the deer and the vicuna from the punas more than him, for they provide her with food to eat and a place to sleep.

The third song does not deal with love, but with the theme of loneliness. It is unclear whether the person in the song is an orphan, or merely a long way from home and family. This song, however, does not show the singer wallowing in self pity, but rather demonstrating a determination to face up to trials and tribulations. Interestingly, from the point of relevance of themes to the urbanizador, the difficulty to be faced is the strange town, and it has to be faced by a boy who is far from home. Loneliness and homesickness have to be overcome, to be faced with stoicism. Perhaps there is a danger of reading too much into the lyrics, nonetheless this song, in theory, would be especially appreciated by the immigrants living in the pueblos jóvenes, who in so many cases are in the same position as the person in the song, i.e. trying to make a living in the city as opposed to subsisting in the country. By any standards, however, it is clear that #13's songs are most definitely Quechua, in terms of purity of vocabulary, and the images that appear.



Informant #14, as with #13, showed a high level of folk music ability coupled with an obvious enthusiasm for singing and playing. The first song he sings is something of an enigma. It is a version of "El Canto de las Ñustas", from the play Ollantay. Pagaza includes a different version of this song, citing the author as Alviña (Pagaza 1967:28). This would seem to indicate that the song is not traditional. Both versions are free of any Spanish influence. The version by this Informant is much more extensive, however, which must well be an indication that this version is truly a folk song, perhaps of greater antiquity. Whatever its origin, this song is a good example of a song sung in Quechua, and therefore affords more evidence that the musical side of Quechua culture is not dead in the city among Sierra immigrants.

Whereas the first song may be more esoteric, more 'contrived', the next two songs find their origins in the common man. The first of these, once again, has loneliness as its theme. Man leaves home and community only to find loneliness and despair. Notice how the man's grief or sadness is described in natural images: the tears turn into rivers (see Appendix III). This song is pure Quechua with absolutely no Spanish interference whatsoever. The second song of the two probably fits into the category of songs sung on special occasions. It describes the bullfight in the village of Santo Tomas. The song addresses itself to a woman, warning her of the grief and hardship she will suffer if she marries a bullfighter. Although the bullfight is a Spanish tradition, the

Indian has developed it to fit into his own culture. Essentially, then, in this song is seen the recollection of a Quechua corrida de toros by an Informant who hasn't witnessed it since he was a child 20 years previously.

The last song sung by this Informant is interesting, not perhaps for any intrinsic merit, although it is beautiful enough, but, being a school song, it can be taken as a symbol of Quechua emergence, of the need and desire for education. Even here is seen the fondness for natural images so typical of the Quechua, the snow on the mountain, hatun orqoq rit'in; the barren land, purun; etc. Here, however, there is a hint of the stamp of Peruvian officialdom trying to instill loyalty to one's country over loyalty to one's community.

As Informants #15 and #23 sang both solo and together, they will both be considered here. Informant #15's first solo is interesting because it is obviously modern as attested by the use of the Spanish word, minifalda, as well as being somewhat bawdy. The use of some Aymara words is also seen, e.g. lloqhallo, 'boy', and imilla, 'girl'. The singer is from the Puno area where there is considerable cross-cultural mixing.

The first duet sung by #15 and #23 appears to be much more traditional. Love is expressed by the girl for her lover as she sits weaving him a poncho. She fears he will return and catch her 'stealing' the colours of the brambles and lakes around the region of Arapa to weave into the poncho. This would appear to be a genuine regional folksong.



The third song sung by #23 alone is also most likely traditional, although there is a little Spanish influence in vocabulary. Lira, in his anthology, includes another, more complete, and less hispanized version of this song (Lira 1956: 54). There would, therefore, appear to be a certain diffusion of songs throughout the Southern Andean area, resulting in different variants. Certainly, however, this song is traditional Quechua and not the product of the Spanish or mestizo sectors.

Other songs were sung by both Informant #15 and #23, but they have not been included owing to doubts over the transcription and translation.

Informant #26 was one of the youngest Informants. Unable to provide much in the way of other folk material, he was able to sing two songs. Little sense could be made of the first song, but the second song has been included here. It has little of the depth of feeling and expression as seen in some of the other songs, nonetheless, it is a rhythmic little song and significant in that the song was learned by a second generation immigrant to Arequipa. Basically, the song provides a tongue-in-cheek warning of the dangers of falling in love.

Informant #27's song is also a love song of the 'night-visiting' genre. The man says he will come to the girl while her parents are asleep and they will run away together. Although there are a few Spanish words in the song, e.g. sirenita, cuchillo, navaja, etc., and the theme may be more Spanish in

origin, for the most part the song is a piece of Quechua culture, a product of the Sierra.

Another love song is that sung by Informant #28. It is difficult to say how much mestizization there is in this song. There is some Spanish vocabulary used, although the tonal qualities are Indian. On the other hand, as will be observed from the Appendix, one young Informant (Anonymous) sang another version of this song which is much more hispanized. An interesting fact is that these two Informants come from different areas, the former from Cuzco itself, and the other from Cotahuasi, Department of Arequipa. Once again, there would seem to be some diffusion of Quechua songs throughout the Southern Andes, with regional variations resulting.

Informant #35 attempted to sing a song, but unfortunately, it was obvious that singing wasn't his forte. He didn't really seem as comfortable as some of the other Informants when it came to singing or reciting folk tales, although he was very willing to cooperate.

Informant #37's musical contributions consisted of three songs, the first of which has already been described. The latter two are incomplete and have not been included in the Appendix. Nonetheless, there can still be detected typical Quechua imagery based on the elements and on nature, e.g. para, 'rain' and wayra, 'wind'. The themes of the last two songs are not certain, although the first appears to deal with a young woman who has or is about to leave her parents, and who asks the wind and the rain not to make her too cold. The



second also seems to be a woman's song: the girl asks her parents to let her marry the owner of the store on the corner, and in theme is somewhat similar to the first song which the Informant sang. In both cases, the object of the girl's love is a store owner. Songs 1 and 3 do include some Spanish vocabulary and seem to be more mestizo. The second song, however, contains no Spanish at all. The music of all three songs bears no resemblance to that of the coast, and although not, perhaps, pure Quechua, they are certainly examples of Sierra music and not that of the coast.

In summary, there appears to be little doubt that the Quechua immigrants have taken their music with them to the large urban centres like Arequipa. The songs in Appendix III are examples of this. The fact that ordinary people still maintain an ability to sing and play songs in Quechua indicates that they are still culturally alive. The songs, as has been demonstrated, show the sentiments of a Sierra people, and their imagery is heavily based on the flora, fauna, and landscape of the mountains of Southern Peru.

On the negative side, folk music traditionally has its roots in the people of the rural areas. Taking as a comparison the Anglo-American folk tradition, this was seen to be in a decline as people moved to the cities until the so-called 'folk revival' of the late fifties and early sixties. In other words, although folk music has sprung up in cities originating among factory workers, in the main, the city has had a detrimental effect on folk music. Popular music, and

popular culture have taken its place, with genuine folk music being listened to and performed by small pockets of enthusiasts.

It seems unlikely that the Quechuas will evolve any kind of factory work songs, and although songs will continue to be remembered and perhaps even be composed in Quechua, the status of Quechua music will shift from the active performance for personal, family, and community enjoyment, to a passive stance. This is already happening, as when the immigrant attends a folk dance concert, or listens to Quechua music on the radio. Active or passive, however, the immigrants showed a marked preference for Quechua music, for the music of the Sierra. In a musical sense, therefore, the immigrants living in the pueblos jóvenes are eminently Quechua-oriented. As a comparison, a similar phenomenon of identification with one's culture through music can be seen in the various ethnic neighbourhoods in the U.S.A. Mexicans have their mariachi bands, and Puerto Ricans have their salsa, while radio provides the man in the street with the opportunity to listen to music pertaining to his own ethnic group.

#### Non-traditional Narrative

Much of the material collected of a narrative nature other than the folk tales was very specific, i.e. the Informant narrated material in response to given questions regarding religion or other closely defined aspects of Quechua culture and lifestyle. On the other hand, some miscellaneous material was collected from Informants who, unable to recall folk songs, folk tales, riddles, etc., wished to contribute something. In



these cases, this involved the narration of some aspect of life such as they knew it in the Sierra, and which they thought might interest the interviewer. Although, perhaps, not of much significance, these should not be discounted completely, since they contribute something to the overall identification of the people of the pueblos jóvenes with their cultural origins. They show a basic link with the past as opposed to a breach with the past.

A typical example of this type of narrative material was that supplied by Informant #32. Although also relating one folk tale (see Chapter III) and two riddles, the main bulk of material consisted of three short pieces. In the first one (see Appendix IV), the Informant describes the organization of a village bullfight in his home town of Chumbivilcas, the preparations and what happens on the actual day of the bullfight. It is interesting to see something of the social interaction among the Quechuas of the Sierra, as well as some of their customs. The second piece describes the roofing of the house in the Sierra, the use of ichhu grass, and attendant ceremonies such as the placing of a cross on the roof once it is finished. The third piece describes the planting of potatoes. In all three pieces it is as if the Informant is making a little story about some common happening in the Sierra. He appears to take a lot of trouble to make his accounts interesting. All in all, although this Informant is well adjusted to life in the city, this does not indicate any desire on his part to divorce himself from his heritage. He describes the

way things are done in his home town with a feeling of affection, and not with any scorn. The old ways are no longer a part of his lifestyle, but he seems to maintain a degree of pride in the ways of his forebears.

Informant #38 composed two narratives about animals that live in the Sierra, one about the fox and the other about the condor. In the first she tells how as a girl she had to look after the sheep and the fox would come and steal the lambs. In the piece about the condor, the Informant describes the bird and what he eats. There is nothing outstanding about these pieces, but they do show some link with the past and a willingness not to forget one's origins.

Taking all these non-traditional narratives provided by the Informants and considering the wide range of subject matter, the overall picture is one not of a rejection of cultural roots, but rather of a considerable degree of pride in them, as shown by the enthusiasm of the Informants, and the desire to produce something, even if they had no folk tales or riddles to tell, or songs to sing. On the other hand, there are also those Informants who could provide all classes of material.

To conclude the Chapter, then, the fact that the Informants were able to tell riddles, or sing and play songs, indicates that we are dealing with a folk society, albeit located in an urban setting. The old arts are still there, and although not as strong, perhaps, as in the communities of the Sierra, they are to be found, and will continue to be found



in the pueblos jóvenes as long as Quechua people still continue to migrate to the cities, as long as Quechuas retain their community solidarity, and as long as opportunities for educational and social advancement remain limited. The type of folk material recorded shows that we are indeed still dealing with a Quechua culture, for these are important markers of that culture in the Sierra, even although the culture has moved, or is in a process of moving to a new venue, the city. In the next Chapter, it will be suggested that not only are Quechua folk arts still very much to be found in the city, but that some of the old Quechua beliefs and practices are also.

## CHAPTER V

### QUECHUA RELIGIOUS BELIEFS AND PRACTICES IN THE CITY

One of the aspects of Quechua culture which has seen the greatest resistance to change over the centuries has been that of religion (Gifford and Hoggarth 1976:xiii). The period immediately following the Conquest saw little if any move by the Quechuas towards Christianization, and even when efforts to destroy native practice, and impose Catholicism were stepped up in the 17th Century, as documented by Francisco de Ávila, and cult objects, idols, and religious sites were destroyed, the native religion succeeded in flourishing by dint of a process of syncretization (Ávila 1598). This process has continued up until the present. Garr concludes, referring to current Quechua religion, that:

. . . la religión de hoy no es únicamente cristiana ni únicamente tradicional sino que se trata de un sincretismo profundo de las dos religiones que se ha desarrollado durante más de cuatro siglos por su propia cuenta. Tampoco se puede entender únicamente como una mezcla de elementos incaicos (tradicionales) y cristianos (españoles) puros. Las dos fuentes son las principales, pero el campesino que ha ido desarrollando su propia religión durante tantos años, ha elaborado frecuentemente su propia interpretación. (Garr 1972:180)

While Garr has discussed contemporary Quechua belief and practice as found in the region around Ayaviri in the Southern



Peruvian Sierra, other studies have been conducted in areas closer to Cuzco, notably by Marzal, and by Nuñez del Prado (Marzal 1971; Nuñez del Prado 1970:57-120). Although certain regional differences have been observed between Cuzco and Puno, notably the belief in the Roal, or universal creator, cited by Nuñez del Prado, and the distinction between Apu and Auki which Garr believes is not to be found in the Puno area, Quechua belief and practice in the Southern Peruvian Sierra shows a high degree of uniformity.

This chapter will examine the question of whether aspects of Quechua religious belief and practice are surviving in the city environment of Arequipa, of whether Quechua immigrants still maintain some of the beliefs and practices which, as will be seen, hold more meaning and significance in the agricultural lifestyle and rural environment of the Sierra. Before examining this question, a brief outline must be drawn of the major beliefs and practices currently to be found among the Quechuas of the Sierra.

#### Quechua Belief in the Context of the Sierra

Although objectively one talks about a Quechua 'religion', the Quechua himself is unaware of this concept. Religion and life are inseparable, and tightly bound together in a complex system of relationships with his environment. There are forces of good, but they can turn against one if not propitiated, and also there are forces of evil which can act as a punishment for failing to comply with certain required demands. Traditionally, the Quechuas conceive of illness as a punishment

for having offended the forces, spirits, or deities which affect their lives (Garr 1972:154; Marzal 1971:251). Essentially, the Quechua belief system is geared towards individual, family, and community welfare through the propitiation of the spirits which control the crops, the animals, health, and the household. It is a system based on reciprocity (Nuñez del Prado 1972:148-149). The fundamental concept is that in order to receive in life, one must first give.<sup>1</sup> One cannot take anything without first making an offering, or else some calamity can result which can affect not only the individual, but the community as a whole.

The principal figure in the Quechua pantheon is the earth, Pacha Mama (Gifford and Hoggarth 1976:xiii; Garr 1972:133; Michaud 1970:13). The earth is seen as a living force and essentially benevolent, but it can dry up, become barren, and therefore there are a whole series of complex rites which are performed to ensure that the earth is content, especially on the 1st of August, the beginning of the agricultural year (Dalle 1971:34-44). It is the earth, too, on which one builds one's house, and so Pacha Mama commands a high degree of respect and reverence (Marzal 1971:254).

On the same plane as Pacha Mama, are the Apus and Aukis. As with Pacha Mama, they exert a strong influence over the individual and the community (Casaverde 1970:141-142; Nuñez del Prado 1970:76-82). They are the spirits of the

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<sup>1</sup>For an interesting and detailed account of current Quechua ritual practice in the Sierra, see Gifford & Hoggarth 1976.



mountains, and particularly of the highest mountains of the region, although those that live in the mountains closest to the community are those which command the greatest respect (Marzal 1971:250-253; Garr 1972:137; Nuñez del Prado 1970:76-82). The jurisdiction of the Apus, and Pacha Mama overlaps to some degree (Garr 1972:138). Like Pacha Mama, the Apu looks after the welfare of the crop, although more strictly this is Pacha Mama's domain. More particularly, however, the Apu exerts control over the welfare of the animal herds, of personal health, and the home. If the crop fails, Pacha Mama has been angered, but if the herd sickens, or a family member falls ill, it is the Apu who has taken offence (Garr 1972:138; Marzal 1971:251).

The Apus and Pacha Mama are the most feared and respected entities of Quechua religion. There are, however, lesser entities which are feared for various reasons, mostly because they are related to sickness. The Chullpas, or graves, figure prominently in this category. More specifically, the graves belong to the ancients, the ñaua runa, machus, or gentiles (Marzal 1971:266; Garr 1972:139-140; Nuñez del Prado 1970:83). It is believed that the bones of the ñaua runa can enter a person and make him sick, or that the spirit of the Chullpa that travels on the wind, soq'a wayra, causes the illness (Garr 1972:140; Marzal 1971:266; Caverro 1965:63; Casaverde 1970:163). While talking of the illness, it should be noted that the illness referred to here is distinct from the biological; it is an illness whose roots lie in having

offended the supernatural entities. Biological illness is treated by going to the native curer, the hampiq, who employs a variety of herbs, or to the posta médica (See Lira 1946). Supernatural illness, on the other hand, has to be treated by the specialists who will be discussed shortly.

Other supernatural illnesses are susto, or mancharisqa, which comes as a consequence of the earth grabbing you ("cuando la tierra te agarra"), or hallp'aq hap'isqan (Garr 1972:140; Caverro 1965:48; Nuñez del Prado 1970:75; Casaverde 1970:150). Mancharisqa, or susto to give it its Spanish name is the consequence of shock felt after experiencing an unexpected danger, usually a fall (Gifford and Hoggarth 1976:92; Marzal 1971:268). Allpaq hap'isqan, on the other hand, is caused by not paying the earth prior to cultivating virgin land (Marzal 1971:271). Streams or springs, pukyu, and the rainbow, k'uychi are also feared as being harbingers of sickness (Marzal 1971:270-271; Nuñez del Prado 1970:87-88; Casaverde 1970:171; Caverro 1965:76-81).

Some supernatural entities exist which are not considered spirits of nature, or connected with natural forces. Among these is the kukuchi, or condenado. Believed to be the soul of one who has committed some dread sin in life, in particular, incest, it is especially feared (Caceres 1970:26-27; Nuñez del Prado 1970:111-112; Casaverde 1970:204-207). Another supernatural being is the ñak'aq, or karisiri, who sucks the fat out of any unsuspecting traveller who meets him (Manya 1969:135-138; Nuñez del Prado 1970:89-90; Casaverde 1970:180).



The supay, and sagra are devils who can take various forms and catch people unawares. In the case of the former is seen an example of syncretism in that the Supay and the Devil of Christian belief are equated (Casaverde 1970:173; Garr 1972:139). The sagra, however, appears to be less malign. Nuñez del Prado describes the sagra as a "personaje travieso y burlón que gusta de gastar bromas pesadas a los humanos: sustrae las llaves de los candados y las arroja entre la yerba; afloja las amarras de las yuntas de bueyes, hace un sin número de agudezas molestias, por el estilo" (Nuñez del Prado 1970: 93-94).

Other minor elements of the supernatural are the duendes, or the spirits of children who have died without being baptized; sirenas, or spirits of the streams which can lure people to their doom with music; and engaychus, or spirits which magically fertilize the animals or the crop. Nuñez del Prado describes them as "sementales de origen sobrenatural" (Nuñez del Prado 1970:90).

So far, something has been seen of the main supernatural elements which feature in the belief of the Southern Peruvian Quechuas, and it is believed that failure to respect these entities can result in either crop failure, illness in the herd, or personal illness of a supernatural nature. There are several important occasions when Pacha Mama and the Apus must be placated which can be divided into two categories: 1) preventive rites to ensure well-being, or the successful outcome of an enterprise, and 2) remedial rites involved with

righting a wrong once an Apu has been offended, and taken disciplinary action by causing illness or some other calamity.

Taking the house as a starting point, payment is made to the earth before the construction of a new dwelling to ensure the happiness and well-being of the future inhabitants. Of particular importance, however, is the final roofing of the house which is an occasion for special ceremonies and social activities (Garr 1972:145-146). Payment is made to the earth and a rite is conducted to assess what the future inhabitants' luck will be. Part of the ceremony is to ask the earth to keep the house and its owners free from harm, while the other part involves augury, using choice coca leaves, k'intu, to see whether the inhabitants will have good luck or bad luck in the future. Garr also cites the practice in Coaza of the placing of crosses decorated with flowers on the roof of the new house (Garr 1972:146). An offering must also be made to the earth when one plans to live in a house which has already been lived in as the Supay or Devil may have taken up residence while the house lay vacant (Garr 1972:147).

Undoubtedly, the most important ceremonies for the rural Quechua are those connected with cultivation, and especially the despacho, or offering made to the earth on the 1st of August in preparation for cultivation and sowing to ensure a bountiful harvest (Casaverde 1970:150; Marzal 1971:273; Garr 1972:147). Another important ceremony is the cutting of the furrows during Carnavales (Garr 1972:147). The despacho, a study in itself, is partly regarded as providing food for the



earth, which, as has been said, is considered to be alive (See Dalle 1969:139-146). It, therefore, frequently contains some samples of the food the campesino himself would eat, e.g. noodles, biscuits, sweets, maize, together with other elements such as animal foetuses, llama fat, silver and gold paper (gori libro and golqe libro) and little lead figures which can be purchased separately, when they are known as chiuchi, or joined together in a circle or a shield, when they are called mesa completa. These little figures, in essence, depict the Quechua's world, the sun, and the moon, animals, home, wife, children, furniture, etc. All of these objects are wrapped in a special paper, papel de San Lorenzo, which can be purchased at the market. Dalle gives a very detailed description of the rites associated with the paying of the earth on August 1st, and of some of the contents of the despacho (Dalle 1971:34-44). The despacho offered to the earth is burned, and the ashes can be buried in situ, thrown to the wind, or buried in an isolated spot where they won't be disturbed.

While there are rites to ensure a good harvest, there are also ceremonies connected with animal fertility, especially the marking of the animals, señalakuy (Delgado 1971:185-197). The rites connected with this are basically similar to those performed on August 1st when offerings are made to the earth; however, there are special days on which the different types of animals are marked. Garr states that the sheep are marked during Carnavales, cattle during the feast of the Holy Trinity

at the beginning of June, and horses on the feast of Santiago of July 25th (Garr 1971:152). With regards to llamas and alpacas, their day can vary from region to region, falling on July 25th, or during the month of August (Garr 1972:152). A major difference between cultivation rites, home blessing, and the animal fertility ceremonies is that although despachos are offered in each case, in the first two, the offering is made to Pacha Mama, the guardian of the earth and crops, while in the last, it is the Apus who are being propitiated.

Having looked at rites to do with well-being which might be summarized as preventive, there are other rites which are more remedial in purpose. It has been seen that certain kinds of illness are thought to be a punishment and to have supernatural causes. In these cases, herbal remedies are not sufficient. Mancharisqa or susto, hallp'aq hap'isqan, when one is made sick by the spirit of a chullpa, or by witchcraft, therefore, one is cured by means of despachos offered to the spirit responsible for the sickness, or, by using kutichiy, where the effects of the witchcraft are made to "return to the person who ordered the witchcraft" (Casaverde 1970:223; Marzal 1971:267-268; Caverro 1965:92). With mancharisqa, the fundamental idea is to call back the animo which left the body when the susto occurred (Marzal 1971:268).

While anybody can make an offering to the earth, be it by making a despacho, or merely by sprinkling some alcohol on the ground before or after having a drink, a process known as t'inkay, the more complex rites involved with crop and



animal fertility and the curing of sickness often have to be performed by specialists who have various functions. The Quechua curandero, generically known as pago is believed to have been struck by lightning and to have survived (Marzal 1971:258; Garr 1972:170). He has the ability to speak to the Apus, to talk with them and to communicate with the earth, or the gentiles. They are also involved with curing supernaturally induced illness, as well as ascertaining by divination the perpetrator of a robbery, or the location of stolen goods. Naturally, in connection with his powers, the pago must know how to set the mesa, 'altar', and what articles to include in the despacho. In other words, he has to be well-versed in the liturgy and rites of animism.

Some pagos have greater powers than others. In the Cuzco area, the most powerful pago is the altomesayoc (Nuñez del Prado 1970:104-105; Marzal 1972:257; Casaverde 1970:212). Less powerful, but still important, is the pampamesayoc (Casaverde 1970:218; Marzal 1971:261). Marzal says that the main difference in function between the altomesayoc and the pampamesayoc is that the latter does not have the ability to talk to the Aukis, and that as opposed to having been elected to 'office' by having been struck by lightning, he has learned his trade from another who has magic powers (Marzal 1971:261).

Other specialists are the qhawac and the watoq, 'the diviner', whose function is to find stolen goods or the guilty party in a robbery by looking at the signs in coca leaves, playing cards, or in a candle flame (Garr 1972:170; Marzal

1971:265). The hanpiq, who has already been mentioned, is principally concerned with the curing of biological illness with herbs. The last specialist, the layqa, is feared by the people, and to call someone a layqa is a grave insult, for his power lies in witchcraft, and his function is to cast spells on people to do them harm, to make them sick, etc. Besides performing witchcraft on one, the layqa can also discover who has bewitched one. The rites connected with curing the effects of witchcraft are often very complicated, and usually the most powerful pago available has to be employed to overcome the evil forces.

From the above, it can be seen that Quechua religion as practised in the Sierra is closely tied in with a rural lifestyle. Its deities are the spirits of nature, and the natural elements themselves. Thus, the earth, the hills, the streams, etc., are seen to be respected and revered. The Quechua of the Sierra lives in a world where everything is considered to be alive; and where natural forces can influence, for good or for bad, the life of the man who depends on the elements for his material well-being which is intimately linked to the growing of crops, and the rearing of animals. As a consequence, Quechua religious beliefs and practices involve the placation of natural forces, and a native 'priesthood' has evolved to carry out the rites associated with the propitiation of the earth and the mountains, and the curing of illness which is also seen to be caused by the angered forces of nature. In short, in the Sierra, where man depends on the



land for survival, the Quechua religion has meaning. Now that so many Quechuas reside in cities, the question must be asked if the old beliefs and practices still hold some meaning in an environment where one's livelihood depends on the earning of a wage rather than the growing of crops or the rearing of animals for one's own subsistence. Is there a Quechua religion in the city? Are the traditional beliefs and practices surviving in the pueblos jóvenes, or have they disappeared?

Traditional Quechua Beliefs and Practices  
in the Context of the City

Having established some of the main patterns of Quechua belief in the Sierra, the questions above as to whether these practices continue at least to some extent in the city must be answered. There are examples of folk religious beliefs and practices in other urban environments. One has only to think of N.E. Brazil with its Macumba and Candomblé, or even cities like Chicago and Miami in the U.S.A. where the Cuban botánica dispenses herbs and talismans. Examples of the folk beliefs of rural immigrants persisting in the city have been documented by Lewis among others (Lewis 1959). Rosa Gómez believes that her husband's impotence is the result of witchcraft, although her husband believes that in religious affairs she is backward and 'indian' (Lewis 1959:71). Rosa wants her husband to go back to her village to see a curandero (Lewis 1959:90). She also remembers that back in her village she became frightened when she saw a rainbow, because it could have damaged her

unborn child (Lewis 1959:112). The head of another immigrant family in Mexico City, Guillermo Gutiérrez, claims:

Here in Mexico City there is even more witchcraft than in the villages. When we are sick we can't afford expensive doctors. (Lewis 1959:152)

When the survival of Quechua folk tales in the city was examined in Chapter III, several aspects of belief were seen with a sizeable number of stories dealing with condenados, the ñak'aq, and the supay devil. The inclusion of elements of the supernatural by city-dwelling Informants indicates to some extent a continued awareness of traditional Quechua beliefs. Awareness of elements of the supernatural in the Quechua world by the Informants, however, does not necessarily imply continued belief in these entities in the city. The condenado's ability to appear as a dog, or as a beautiful girl, and the supay's ability to change into various animals in the story about Andrés and the Devil, do imply a certain knowledge of traditional Quechua belief concerning these entities. Similarly, the zonzo's pretending to use the skin of the allqamari to determine the fortune of the university student indicates an awareness of traditional Quechua belief concerning augury and divination.

In the main, however, as has been seen at the beginning of this chapter, Quechua religious practice holds greatest relevance in the context of a people dependent on agriculture and herding for survival. The greatest threat, then, to the traditional belief patterns lies in the urban Quechua's having left the environment where crop failure, or sickness in the



herd can mean virtual disaster. Correspondingly, the Apus and the Aukis, and Pacha Mama, etc., no longer have the same hold over the urban Quechua's life as they do for his counterpart in the Sierra. This is not to say, as will now be seen, that knowledge of these entities has been totally forgotten, but certainly many supernatural elements would appear to have diminishing importance for the urbanizador, the urban Quechua, and knowledge of the roles the supernatural elements traditionally hold can become sketchy.

#### The Apus and the Aukis

When asked about the Apus and the Aukis, most Informants, although not always aware of the terms, were able to equate them with the mountains. Knowledge of their influence on one's life, however, was not evident in many cases. Informant #1 knew that the Apus were the mountains, but was not aware of offerings having to be made to them. Informant #10 described the Apus as, "Los parajes de los cerros que hablan", giving Apu Chinchina as an example. She said that there were Apus in the punas of Arequipa. She said that although she herself had only heard about them, offerings were made to the Apus: "Cuando alcanzan a la tierra sirven así". Informants #9 and #31 merely referred to the Apus as the mountains or as belonging to the mountains: "son de los cerros", "orqo, cerro, se llama". Informant #21 was of the opinion that only people in the Sierra believed in the Apus, and Informant #30 disavowed that people from the Sierra continued to believe in the Apus in Arequipa: "Ya no creemos esas cosas". Informant

#9 gave a short account in Quechua in which he compares the mountains of his region of origin (Apurimac) with Mt. Chachani in Arequipa, but he said nothing of their relation with animal welfare, illness etc. In general, few Informants were able to say anything about the traditional role of the Apus, although this may have been related to the sensitive nature of the Question. Informant #4, however, was able to talk about the mountains, although she did not understand the words Apu or Auki. The following account gives a good idea of her belief concerning the mountains:

Los cerros, dicen que estan de hambre. Por ejemplo, esos cerros necesitan también como dicen, 'pagar'. Por ejemplo, al cerro que Ud. quiere ir . . . Por ejemplo, quiere Ud. subir al Coropuna. Para subir al Coropuna una botella de vino en el, a lo que Ud. va a subir, al cerro. Puede enterrar una botella de pisco, y una botella de vino. Entonces Ud. puede subir; no le puede pasar nada. Ud. lo deja allí enterrado para toda la vida. Si Ud. lo va a sacar, y allí se lo va a tomar, dice que se muere. Bueno, eso es un señor allí en mi tierra que nos contó. Dice que antes habían subido allí en mi tierra es el volcán se llama Coropuna; es bien bravo. Así es que no se puede subir así nomás. Entonces los españoles habían subido allí. Y este caballero se llamaba Pedro. Entonces les había dicho, "Que yo he subido mejores volcanes que este volcán; ¿qué cosa va a hacer! ¡No vamos a subir! Subimos" Y dice que les dijo el caballero, "Uds. no van a subir este volcán, porque este volcán es bien bravo!" "Hemos subido a mejores volcanes, y esto ¿qué nos va a hacer?" Entonces, se hicieron amigo del caballero, y le dijeron, "Don Pedro, cómo podemos subir para subir arriba?" "Lo que van a hacer es pagar una botella de vino, y una botella de pisco y no van a sacar." Y dice que los enterraron las dos botellas de vino y así. Dice le dice, "Ay Coropuna Machu, ama mikhu-wankichu; kunan pagasqayki." Que dice, 'Que te estoy pagando, Coropuna Machu; no me vas a comer'. Entonces dice que pagaron, y el viejito como sabía pagó también la tierra; pues pagó a su manera, entonces subió. Y los que le contradijeron y dijeron que, "Nosotros hemos subido a mejores volcanes ¿qué va a hacer éste?"



y no subieron, murieron. Y ese caballero y con los otros caballeros que le dijeron que van, que pagase, pagaron y subieron al Coropuna, y pusieron una bandera de un poncho de vicuña en la punta del cerro que era bravo, pagándole. Pero los que no pagaron, no subieron; murieron allí.

From the above story it can be seen that this Informant still sees the mountains in a traditional sense. They are hungry and alive. The Spanish mountaineers died because they didn't heed Don Pedro's advice and make an offering to Coropuna.

When asked if there were mountains near Arequipa like the one in the story, and whether they should be paid, #4 continued:

No. Parece que no son tan bravos, parece que no son tan bravos, pero siempre para precaución estaría pagarles; para precaución ¿no? Así para que, por ejemplo, es el soroche que le sale sangre por la nariz; sangre. Bien puede ser. Queda Ud. pálido como si estuviera Ud. mal. Entonces por ejemplo dice que es que llega a comerse pues los cerros el corazón de uno, como dicen que se revienta así igualito. Sale sangre por la nariz, sangre, dice, de la boca, y mueren. Eso es lo que tienen los cerros. Ese es el de mi tierra; es muy bravo.

It is interesting how she regards altitude sickness as having supernatural causes. Informant #4 sees the mountains as being alive and capable of eating out one's heart if they are not properly fed. She seems to make a distinction between her area of origin, and Arequipa itself. Nonetheless, although the mountains around Arequipa don't appear to be as fierce as e.g. Coropuna, one must still be careful, and it is always wise to make an offering to the mountains, else they do one harm. Informant #4, however, makes no mention of the mountains' having anything to do with sickness, or with animal fertility ceremonies.

Of all the Informants, #8 showed the greatest knowledge of the tradition and beliefs related to the Apus and Aukis, and had friends and relatives who were pagos and studied these things. In view of what Garr says about the people around Ayaviri being unaware of the distinction between Apu and Auki, and the use of the term altomesayoq, it is interesting that #8, who is from Uchumayu in the Puno area, not only knew the meaning of Apu and Auki, but was also aware of the different levels of native 'priests', the altomesayoq, pampamesayoq, paqo, etc. Informant #8 saw the Apus and Aukis as a "cuestión de la tierra":

Tierra riki vivo, pero onqochiwanchis ñoqanchistapas.  
Hap'iwanchis y manchariykunchis. Hap'iwanchis riki.  
Almanchista hap'irakapun.

The earth is alive and it can make us sick. It catches us, and we suffer fright. It catches us and takes hold of our soul.

As an example of an Apu, Informant #8 gave Apu Chachani (the mountain overlooking Arequipa). He said the Apus come like men when they are called by the man called the altomesayoq:

Chaykunaqa runa hinas chayamun ari. Waqachinku chay  
'altomesayoq' ninku. Chayqa waqachinku hinaqa.

The altomesayoq, according to Informant #8, is able to tell who has robbed you, where your belongings can be located, and that this is done by getting the Auki to talk. It appears, however, that this Informant perceives the Apus, the Aukis, and Pacha Mama as all being different manifestations of the same, viz. the earth. In the introduction it was seen that the Apus and the Aukis are the principal recipients of offerings during animal marking ceremonies. Informant #8 describes



such a ceremony involving paying the earth, the use of the señal q'epi, or charm bundle, etc. On being asked whether any of this practice continues in the city with a view to ascertaining what significance, if any, the Apu held for people in the city, #8 replied:

En la Sierra hay pués ganados, vacas, llamas.  
Pero acá ¿qué cosas hay pues? No hay nada.

In short, #8 sees the Apu as still being relevant in relation to sickness, or with ascertaining the details concerning a robbery, but as having lost its significance in relation to animal fertility in the city. As will be seen later, Informant #8 still believes in traditional belief and practice with regard to sickness, and that there are people who treat this by traditional methods in Arequipa.

Informant #14 was well versed in several aspects of Quechua belief, although he claimed to be personally sceptical of most of them. In answer to the question of whether people in his pueblo joven believed in Apus, and of whether people looked on Chachani or El Misti as a god or a spirit, i.e. as Apus or Aukis, #14 replied:

. . . precisamente los curanderos hacen eso. No lo creen como un dios, ni como unos espíritus. Creen que es, es, siempre, por ejemplo, cuando uno quiere viajar dicen así; siempre dicen. Soplan así en su coquita, dicen. Ahora si va a llegar bien a ese sitio dice, "con tu permiso". Así más o menos, "Con tu permiso" dicen. Así dicen, pero no es que creen que es un dios o algo así.

Informant #14, then, sees the Apus in much the same way as Informant #4. He appears to be of the opinion that people see the Apus as almost being like owners of the land and that one

must seek their permission before, as he quotes, going on a journey. They are not like spirits or gods, but they do seem to have life, and that is why their permission must be sought. Although he himself does not hold this belief, he is of the opinion that some people in the pueblo joven will make an offering to the Apus before going on a journey. He said that in the Sierra, the mountains are called Auki.

Informant #36, like #14, personally did not hold any belief in the Apus and Aukis. She claimed that this was due to her own faith, being a member of the evangelical church. She was well aware of traditional Quechua religious beliefs, however, and gave the following vivid example of what the pago says when he calls down the Apu to cure someone who is sick:

'Auki, haywasayki kayta qanman. Kaypi invitasayki aqhata, tragota. Kunan mañayki qanta kayman hamunaykita willawanaykipaq.'

Chayamushanña, chayamushanña, chayamushanña. Apu chayamushan, Apu chayamushan. Hamushan, hamushan, hamushan. Ay, espuelasniyoq chayaramunña. Qorimanta espuelasniyoq, qolqemanta espuelasniyoq chayaramun.

'Apu, Apu . . . Apu, Apu, kay señoorta imanaqtin onqochinki qan?'

'Hinaqa onqochini mana haywanchu mikhunata, manan uywanchu, manan ch'akiwaqtin, yarqawaqtin mikhuchiwanhus chay onqochini. Kunan haywawanqa chayqa, qhaliyakunqa, qhaliyakunqa. Kunanqa qhaliyachisaq. Maymi chay onqosqa runa? Huk pasaykin kunanqa hinaqa ripunki enfermo, ripunki. Lloqsinqa onqo kay runamanta. Amaña hap'inkichu, kunanqa mikhuchiwashanmi. Manañachu kunanqa yarqay, ch'akiy purisaqchu. Kunanqa pasapusaq; pasapusaq kunanqa. Nan p'unchayyaramushanña. Wallpapis waqaramunqaña. Ripusaq; ripusaq kunanqa. Hukta waqamuqtiykiña tupasunchis. Ripusaq. Paqarinkama.'

'Auki, I shall offer this to you. Here I shall invite you to drink chicha, and trago. I want you now to come here to tell us what you have to say.'

He is arriving now; he is arriving now; he is arriving now. The Apu is arriving; the Apu is arriving. Here he comes; here he comes; here he comes. Ay, the



one with the spurs is arriving now. The one with the golden spurs, the one with the silver spurs has come.

'Apu, Apu . . . Apu, Apu, what has this man done that you have made him sick?'

'For this reason I have made him ill: probably he hasn't offered me food nor cared for me, and because he let me go hungry and thirsty I have made him sick. If he offers me these things now I will make him well again and he will recover. Where is the man who is sick? I am coming to you now, and you will go, sick one. The sickness will leave this man. Don't take hold of him any longer, sickness, for now he is feeding me. I will no longer go hungry and thirsty. Now I shall go; now I shall go. It is now almost dawn. The cock will soon crow. I will go; I will go now. We shall meet when you call on me again. I will be off. Until tomorrow.'

On being asked whether the people really thought that the Apu dressed in spurs, #36 said that this was only "una fantasía". The Apu doesn't really come out but "su sonido llega". The paqo then asks the Apu questions which he answers because the earth is alive. Here again is seen the idea of Apus and the earth seeming to be parts of the same. The Apu arrives like a dove which has come in through the window or the roof. Informant #36 said that they perform the ritual at midnight, or at one o'clock in the morning, in complete darkness without candles. The people present are the sick person, his relatives, and the paqo. They have to listen to the Apu's voice, but they don't see anything. #36 was then asked if she thought that people still believed in the Apus and Aukis in Arequipa, and if she knew any pagos in the pueblos jóvenes who could call on the Apus in the way she had described. To this she replied that there was a man who lived opposite her. He knew how to cure bone dislocations, and that people said he knew how to santiguar a person who had suffered susto,

how to cure asustados. She thought he might know how to call the Aukis. She doubted he was a Quechua speaker, as he came from Chihuata only two hours from Arequipa, up beside Mt. Misti.

The question of the Apus and the Aukis prompted Informant #7 to recall a painful experience in his life. While living on a hacienda in the Sierra, a cow had gone missing, and he was wrongfully accused of having stolen it. Fearing punishment, he had left home and headed for the punas above Cuzco. He had sought out a powerful pago, whom he called the hatunniyoq, 'the great one'. He bought coca and trago, 'spirits', and the pago had then proceeded to call the Apu for him. The Apu told the Informant that the cow was back at the lake near the hacienda, and that the following Thursday he would get it back. Satisfied with this, the Informant had returned home only to find that the owner of the hacienda was looking for him with the police, and he was punished. The seeking out of the Apu's help had all proved to be a trick. He saw it all as "brujería", and his faith in the efficacy of the pagos, and in the Apus had been destroyed.

#### Beliefs Related to the Earth

While credence in the Apus and the Aukis appears to be on the wane in the city, and knowledge of their roles and significance has become clouded, the same cannot be said with regards to the earth, La Santa Tierra, or Pacha Mama. Although the connection with paying the earth and agricultural practice has been broken in the city, other occasions which necessitate paying the earth do exist: houses have to be built, virgin



land is settled, and particularly, illness whose causes are supernatural, still prevail in the eyes of the urbanizador. Even although one's activities are no longer related to planting and harvesting, one can still pay the earth in August to ensure one's well-being in the coming year.

In general, however, the topic of paying the earth is not one which people will readily discuss or admit to, although evidence that the investigator is already acquainted with these beliefs can help the Informants to be a little more forthcoming than they might otherwise be. The confession that "Ya no creemos estas cosas", can often be interpreted as implying "Sí, creemos estas cosas, pero no se lo vamos a admitir a Ud." As a consequence of peoples' reluctance to discuss the delicate, taboo topic of religious belief, the investigator, in some cases at least, has to read between the lines. A large section of the Arequipa market, in general run by Serranos, sells not only a wide assortment of herbs as home remedies for physical ailments, but also all the paraphernalia connected with the making of despachos, as well as those already prepared. It seems highly unlikely that all of these stands serve only a transient population from the Sierra. Below is seen a typical example of a 'recipe' for paying the earth, together with the purposes for which the earth is paid:

# MESA EXTRA PARA PAGAR LA TIERRA SANTA

Para pagar la tierra, ya sea para casas nuevas, negocios, enfermos, asustados o para ganado, chacras o contra todo maleficio se hace el pago por primera vez con mesa entera y se recomienda tener fé voluntad sin duda, alguna, de esta manera conseguirá todo lo que desea con la ayuda del SAHUMERIO MARAVILLOSO O BENITO, que será quemado con fósforo. El Sáhumerio está compuesto por incienzo, estoraque, mirra, laurel, cáscara de ajo; ajo de castilla, clavos de especie, Sáhumerio negro y blanco, alhucema, almisco, conuja, sangre de dragón. Si el Sáhumerio arde color azulado es mal signo, y si es amarillo es buena señal.

De venta en el Mercado de San Camilo, Sección HIERBAS, MEDICINALES, Mesa de Remedios N°. 2. . .

Compendio de la Mesa  
Santa W. . .

por Angel . . .

Mesa N. 2

Mesa Extra para Tierra Santa	Mesa Extra
Cere libro	Maní
Colina libro	Contra fiebre
Sáhumerio blanco	Contra veneno
Sáhumerio negro	Conuja
Sáhumerio	Flor de tierra
Incienzo	Santo taco
Alhucema	Chiuchi Fino

NOTA: Si el sahumerio arde de color rojo o de color negro, es mal signo.

The above was purchased in the San Camilo Market in Arequipa.

Informant #1 referred to Pacha Mama as "La Santa Tierra". He said that one way to pay the earth was to sprinkle alcohol on to the ground, t'inkay. Doughty, referring to drinking ritual among barriada (the previous term for pueblo joven) immigrants in Lima, states that shortage of glasses resulted in drinking companions emptying the residue on to the floor prior to passing the glass along (Doughty 1970:40). Garr, however, says that each time someone takes a drink, he sprinkles either the first or the last drop on to the ground as an individual offering to the earth (Garr 1972:147). Having personally witnessed the practice of pouring the remains of a drink on to the ground, I suspect that this is, in fact, a continuance of individual payment, although no one admitted that this was so. Informant #1 thought that the



principal reason for paying the earth was if you were sick but couldn't be cured in the hospital. You should try the hospital first, but if this failed your next course is to go to a hanpiq. Both Informant #1 and his brother-in-law, Informant #2, thought that people still continue to pay the earth in the city.

Informant #4 saw paying the earth as being different from the curing process. The pagos cure people with herbs, invoking the help of God, and the Virgen de Copacabana, but in paying the earth they use pikchu (a ball of chewed coca leaves), wira, 'fat', and also chunka siwayro, which she describes as ". . . de unas cositas son de todo color. Esos son chunka siwayro." Next she mentions qori libro and golqe libro (gold and silver paper), kuticitos (used to counteract spells), caramelos, 'sweets', galletas, 'biscuits', and a llama foetus, un sullito de llama. Informant #4 said that they pay the earth in the month of August. The following are the reasons she gave for paying the earth:

Por ejemplo, pagan la tierra . . . Y dicen que pagando la tierra, creen que cuando uno va pagando la tierra, va bien, pero cuando uno no paga la tierra, unos dicen que se enferma. Eso pienso, eso piensa. Que uno, si Ud. se siente, por ejemplo va Ud. a vivir en un sitio en que no han vivido nadie. Ud. va a un sitio, por ejemplo, yo estoy viviendo en una urbanización. Allí en ese sitio Ud. se siente decaído su cuerpo. Siente Ud. como si Ud. estuviera cansado que ha trabajado bastante. Se siente Ud. cansado, y decaído. No tiene Ud. ganas de comer. Para Ud. colérico. Tiene Ud. cólera ¿no? Que está con su esposa; disgusta Ud. con sus hijos; con todos disgusta.

It is interesting that she quotes an urbanización, i.e. a pueblo joven, as an example of virgin land where no one has lived before.

This would appear to be a clear indication of an occasion in the city where the earth has to be paid. The symptoms she gives are those of allp'aq hap'isqan as described by Marzal (Marzal 1971:271). Informant #4 makes a definite distinction between illnesses such as gripe, 'flu', pneumonia, and even cancer, which she saw as being curable if caught in its early stages, and supernatural illness. For the former, you went to hospital if it was serious, or if it was not serious you took an aspirin and went to bed. For the latter, however, you had to be lucky and find someone who knew how to cure these for they are caused by people whom she said were in league with the Devil.

In the case of Informant #8, it has already been seen how he equates the Apus and Aukis with the earth. He sees the earth as causing susto and taking away one's soul. In order to get the soul back, the earth has to be paid. This involves the use of a mesa, and you pay the earth with a sullu, 'foetus'. Informant #8, as with #4, distinguishes between 'normal' illness, and supernatural illness such as when "la tierra te agarra y te sale ánimo". The latter can only be cured with curanderos, quite a few of whom, he said, live in Arequipa. With the former, on the other hand, you could go to a doctor, although curanderos can also cure 'normal' illness by means of herbs such as chikuria, alfalfa, and kanacho. You should also take cerveza negra, 'dark beer', "porque se alimenta; que no dan anemia". In the main, however, this Informant sees the earth as being most connected with the



illnesses hallp'aq, hap'isgan and susto, and it is to cure these that you pay the earth.

Informant #9 said that Pacha Mama was "La Santa Tierra" and admitted to paying the earth on occasions, although the principal times for doing this were Carnavales and the month of August with most of the people in Arequipa doing it at this time. Informant #9 explained that a person came from the pueblo joven of Hunter to pay the earth for him, and that he did this so that the earth would be at peace and not disturb them, and so that his house would be blessed:

Kaypipas pacha mamamanqa pagaykun allin tranquilo  
kay allpapi tiyanapaq, wasipis allin kananpaq. Huk  
hanpiy yachaq huknawan pagachiykun.

With regards to illness and its causes, #9 seemed uncertain, although he gave the example of when the children fall, then it is said that the earth has attacked them:

Por ejemplo así que los chiquillos cayen a eso de  
la tierra dice que ataca.

The materials used for paying the earth according to Informant #9, were a sullu de llama, 'llama foetus', cebo de llama, 'llama fat', coca, vino, clavel, pisco, and a mesa completa ("Ya viene todo preparado"), which you can buy at the market.

Informant #11 admitted that his children had never been to a hospital, and that their mother treats them with herbs such as yerba buena and oregano when they get sick. She buys these and other herbs at the market. With regards to paying the earth, or Pacha Mama, #11 said that he remembered a little from his father about what to do if his children get sick. He said they buy coca, llama untu, 'llama fat', alcohol,

misk'i, 'sweets', fideos, and arroz for Pacha Mama. They also look into the coca leaves: "K'intuchata k'intuykun".

Informant #14 felt that there were few people from the Sierra who still pay the earth, and that with the exception of the local farmers, los chacareros, few native Arequipeños practice this. He describes what paying the earth consists of and why people do this:

Es la antigua creencia que dice que la tierra es santa, la tierra bendita, y a veces la tierra no habitada porque acá en "Cuatro de Octubre" ¿no? Es tierra virgen ¿no? Nadie ha pisado acá. No ha hecho nadie vivienda. Digamos tierra virgen. Entonces tienen la tendencia de creer que es tierra virgen; puede hacer que uno se enferme o alguien se muera. Es la tendencia de creer que al hombre se le va como a la tierra. Entonces para eso le pagan. Entonces ya esta alimentada la tierra, ya está pagada. A uno ya no se va a enfermar nada.

As with Informant #4, #14 regards the practice of paying the earth as having to do with the belief that if you tread on land that is virgin then it can make you sick. Both #14 and his wife considered the month of August and Carnavales as the major times for paying the earth, although you can do it any time, in any month. Although he thought it was rare, Informant #14 said that sometimes people will make an offering to the earth when they build a house, and that they will bring a priest to bless the house. In several houses there could be seen crosses covered with flowers much as described by Garr in relation to the roofing of the houses (Garr 1972:146). With regards to illness, #14's wife said that people in the pueblos jóvenes generally go to curanderos who have originated from the Sierra rather than to the hospital because "a los



médicos tienen miedo". She attested to the fact that there were several curanderos in the pueblo joven, one of whom lived only a few houses away. She gives an example of when one would seek the help of a curandero:

Por ejemplo, cuando uno cae enfermo tiene que estar yendo al hogar--y comienzan a ojeear la coca que dicen. Hay que poner un sello; diez soles hay que poner. Ojeando la coca dice que en tal sitio te has asustado, o de esto o de qué cosa te ha dolido.

Informant #14 himself, however, didn't hold much faith in the curanderos, and said he thought the doctors' remedies were much better, although he gave an example of how he had been cured in the Sierra of susto caused by seeing a toad when they were preparing a mesa for an animal marking ceremony. His father had taken him to a curandero, they had paid the earth, and the next day he had recovered. #14 and his wife referred to the indigenous 'priests' almost constantly as curanderos, but they did say that in Quechua they were called hanpikuq.

Informant #36 talked about the ingredients for making an offering to the earth mentioning such materials as coca, pan de San Nicolás or San Nicolás t'anta, unas [sic] caramelos de confetes colorados, fideos, figurines, etc. Most of these were mentioned by other Informants who talked about what is used to pay the earth. As has previously been seen, this Informant stated that people considered the earth to be alive, and she also said she knew of a man who lived opposite her who was an expert in curing susto, the illness which is believed to be caused by the earth.

Informant #38 could say little about making offerings to the earth although she mentioned the standard items used such as coca, trago, and aqha or chicha, 'maize beer'. She was aware of what a paqo was, only she described him as a qhawaq, 'diviner'. Most of the information given with regards to traditional belief was in relation to the Sierra. In August she said that they light incense, q'osñichinku, in the fields in their homes, and for the animals. She also knew of the practice of t'inkay when people drink, and, as seen, this is an individual form of payment to the earth. On the whole, however, her knowledge of traditional belief concerning the earth, etc., was limited. Nevertheless, she knew a little concerning traditional views on illness. She thought that people went to the hospital to be cured if they had money, otherwise, the family itself would try to cure a sick member with herbs, and if this failed they would fetch a paqo:

Onqosqa kaqtin chay runataqa apachinku hospitalta;  
 hospitalpi chaypi hanpichinankupaq. Wakinkuna manan  
 apachinkuchu hospitalta, wasillapi hanpillanku  
 hanpikunawan orqokunamanta apamusqa. Imaymana hanpita  
 apamunku runtuwan. Ima wasankuman nanku imamantan  
 onqon. Chaymanta hanpikonman qhaqonku, q'osñichinku--  
 Qolqen chayqa qolqen kan chayqa hospitalta apanku.  
 Rin hospitalta, rin pay. Manan qolqen kan chayqa  
 manan rinchu hospitalta. . . . Chay familiallan hanpin.  
 Allin allillanmi hanpinku allinta chayqa. Manapuni  
 sichus allin chayqa paqoman rinku qhawachikuq imamanta  
 onqosqa. Y paqota apamunku vidanta qhawachin  
 paqokunawan chay runata.

Informants #30 and #31 knew of the practice of paying the earth, but would not elaborate. The former said his family no longer believed in such things. The latter saw the earth as "ardiendo" and they used herbs to pay the earth when they buy a plot of land.



### The Gentiles

Most of the Informants interviewed were well aware of what the gentiles were, and of their connection with sickness. In general, however, they said that this was something that happened in the Sierra and not in Arequipa where there were not any gentiles. Nevertheless, several Informants were able to relate narratives concerning the legends of what the gentiles were, and to tell how they could make one sick.

Although not included in the main list of Informants, a girl from the village of Carmen Alto, in fifth grade at school, and who had never been to the Sierra, described the gentiles in traditional terms:

Es un viejo que sienta en los cerros. Dice que tiene de este porte, según que sea, y dice que a Ud. le puede engañar. Como Ud. tiene familia así lejos de Ud., que se sienta en un cerro allí parecido a su familia. Va pues y le llama a Ud., y Ud. se acerca, y a veces amarra a las manos y se queda Ud. así. Yo tengo una abuelita que es así. Sí, parecido a su esposo le había llamado ese gentil, y la abuelita como creyó que era su esposo se había acercado. Ya queda así con las manos amarradas y después no hace nada; ni anda ni nada. Es bien malo ese.

In the above is seen the traditional belief concerning the gentil's ability to deceive one, to take the form of a relative, and to cause illness (in the above case, arthritis). Although never having lived in the Sierra, this Informant seems to have had some knowledge of traditional beliefs passed on to her by her family.

Informant #4 said that the gentiles were the bones which could be found in her homeland. She said that if you go too near to these bones then they enter you and make your

knee swell up. Again is seen the traditional connection between the gentiles and certain kinds of illness.

Informant #8 believed that the gentiles belonged to the Apus and the Aukis, and the layqas, 'witches', could send them to do harm. Essentially, the gentiles are the same as us except that they lived way back in the time of our grandfathers, and even before the Incas. The gentiles are just skeletons but they are alive. In the past they had to live underground. Now they can make us sick. Like ghosts they wait for a person. They penetrate his body, and make him sick: "Tullu yaykun y se enferma". A doctor can do nothing for you if this happens. You have to go to a curandero who will make an offering of a sullu, etc., to try and make you well. The gentiles live in cuartitos, 'little rooms', an obvious description for the ch'ullpas. As with the girl above, #8 didn't think that there were any gentiles around Arequipa, although in the Sierra they abounded.

Informant #9 had heard of the gentiles, but having left the Sierra very young, he said he couldn't say very much about them.

Informant #14's opinions about the gentiles were consistent with the disbelief he personally held with respect to other aspects of Quechua beliefs. He said, however, that the gentiles were people who in times gone by had been burned by the Sun. The gentiles live underground, but they can come out from time to time. #14 thought that people still believed in the gentiles, and that it was possible that there were



places that people feared around Arequipa as being the homes of the gentiles, although he could not confirm this. He gave a description of the ch'uillpas in his region of origin in the Sierra:

En mi tierra hay casas así en cerros o a pie de unas rocas. Hay unas casitas de adobe de sillarcitos medios repuestos. Y allí dentro hay huesos. Hay cráneos así, huesos de cristiano. Eso dicen hay gentil.

As for himself, however, #14 saw these bones not as gentiles, but simply as the remains of "gente primitiva, gente antiguo". He mentioned nothing about the gentiles' connection with illness.

Informant #30 said very little about the gentiles, but he claimed to have seen gentiles in Mt. Chachani when he was a boy:

Naupa haqay, na, joven kasper--y chico kasper rikurgani gentilkunata Chachani mach'aykunapi, . . . huesos, tulluta.

Informant #31 merely referred to the gentiles as "los antiguos".

Informant #36 cited a legend concerning the gentiles which she had learned from her mother. This is basically an expanded version of the beliefs discussed by Informant #8 and Informant #14:

Ese lo ha hablado mi mami que esa momento que está oscuriendo el sol, la luna, que salen esos gentiles; levantan para caminar porque ellos viven. Y también decía mi mami porque antes que saliera el sol no creían ellos en Dios. No creían en el sol, mas que la luna nomás alumbrado con la luz que le daba un poco oscuro, con ese vivían. Pero sabía después una persona que ha dicho que va a haber el sol porque no le hacían a Dios. Ellos vivían como personas, familias, y todo ¿no? Común nomás. Y en seguida le habían contado a esa gente que va a venir el sol.

Por eso que hicieron huecos donde sea no? Con sus oros, con platas, con mejor ropa. En esa hueco se-- mejor dice, mejor dice, cueva no? Cueva. En los cuevas se sentaron. Dice que algunos encima de eso--de eso tesoro, en huecos enterrados y con mejor ropa porque no creían ellos que el sol no va a llegar a esa hueco y nunca va a hacer secar. Y--pero como Dios es poderoso le ha mandado un sol--este sol mismo --más bajo, más bajo a la tierra para que quemara a esa gente para que se agarra secar todo carne, huesos y todo. Esas gentiles sabían eso, pero no creían que, "¿Quién nos va a quemar? ¿De dónde saben? Pero en esta cueva vamos a escapar. Nuestro tesoro va a ser aquí para nosotros." Pero así sentadas se le secaron todos que le han hecho eso en los cerros, le decimos eso, en las cuevas. "Aquí nadie no va a encontrar nuestros tesoros. Aquí no va a encontrar ni a nosotros." Por eso ahora en universidades tiene esos gentiles así mismo yo lo he visto--gentiles con mejor ropa de Inca a--de antiguo que han tejido no? Y también bien secos, sus dientes intactos.

Here is seen the basic idea that the gentiles didn't believe in God, nor in the sun. They heard that the sun was going to come, so they hid in holes which they had made along with their treasure. God, however, sent the sun which penetrated below ground to burn the gentiles, and dry them up. They knew that the sun was going to come, but they mistakenly believed that underground they would be safe. It is interesting that #36's first-hand experience of the gentiles was in a university where she saw some pre-Inca mummies. #36 said that the Quechua name for gentiles was ñaua machu, "the ancients who lived in the past".

Informant #38 didn't understand the word gentil. She referred to them as ñaua runa. She did know of the belief that the homes of the gentiles, the ch'uillpas could make one sick.

Informant #41's reaction to being questioned about the gentiles was to tell the following story of how as a girl in



the Sierra she used to dance with the head of one of the gentiles which she called abuelos, 'grandfathers' (a probable translation of the Quechua word machu, 'old man'), on the end of a pole:

Taksa kaspá ñoqa, tusuchirqani abueloq umanta, napi, umanta floreskunawan, t'ikakunawan wataruspa. Chhayna k'aspiq puntanman winarunis. Anchaypi tusuyachiq kani. Hinaspa ñoqataqmi t'ikakunawan watarupunanitaq, hinata. Chay abuelokunaq umanqa churarayashan t'oqo ukhupi, qaqá ukhupi. Hinas chayta ñoqaqa horqoq kani k'aspiwan. Chhayna kutiqqaya' unayña tusuchirani chayta hinas. Mamitay tarirqowan. Chaymanta maqayuwan hinas kaqlla chay, abueloq mancharapurani, t'oqo ukhuman asullaytaña. Chaymanta tullunkunapas monton, monton ya chay ukhupi, chay qaqá t'oqopi. Qaqá t'oqopi tiyan, chay ukhupi. Chaymanta horqospa ñoqa tusuchiq kani. Hinaspa chay tusuchispa, mamitay tarirqowaq maqayuwan. Chaymanta manan tusuchiq puranichu. Ovejata, chitata michispa chitata michiq kani, hinas chayta ruwaq kani pus kayniytapas churayuni y maraña churayuspa chaytaqa tusuchiq kani montepi. Chaymanta mamitay maqaqtiy manaña ruwapuranina chayta. Chaymanta chay, nakunapis, atoqkuna chay tusuyanaykama chitaytapas quitarapuwaq atoqkuna. Chaymanta allqokunalla qatin; allqokunalla qatin. Allqokunalla riki quitamun chaykunatapas . . .

When I was a young girl, I'd tie flowers to the head of a gentil, and make it dance. I'd stick it on the end of a pole, and there I'd dance around with it. I'd tie flowers to it. The heads of these gentiles lay about in caves in the rocks, and so I'd go and fish one out with a stick. For a long time I'd go back there and dance with the head. But then my mother found me. She gave me such a beating that I got scared of the abuelo, and of going near the cave. In that cave there were lots of bones; that's where the abuelos live, in a cave. What I would do was take them out and dance with them. It was while I was dancing that my mother found me and beat me. After that I didn't go dancing. My job was to look after the sheep and their lambs, but what I'd do when I was out on the mountain was to lay down my spinning or my grinding and dance with the abuelo. After my mother gave me a beating for it, I didn't do that any more. While I was dancing around, foxes would come and make off with some of my lambs, and then the dogs would go and chase them away . . .

Informant #41, although aware of what the gentiles were, did not see them as causing harm, or as connected with illness. As seen from the above, she had been close to them, and nothing had happened to her, but also she was a member of the evangelical church, and therefore did not fear such things as gentiles, although she did believe that there was evil and, as will be seen later, witchcraft. As for the gentiles, the worst that happened to her was to get punished by her mother, and now she saw the whole thing as a humorous episode in her past.

#### Belief in Condenados

With regards to belief in condenados in the city, or as to their appearance or existence there, there was a variety of opinions among the Informants. Informant #2 related a story about a dead child in Ayaviri. He said that a condenado is sometimes just a noise, or sometimes it can take the form of a dog.

The girl from Carmen Alto described the condenado as "estilo de negro y blanco. Anda con su capuchón". She said that it appears at night--"se le aparece en la noche". The girl's companion, a woman from Yauri, Department of Cuzco, said a condenado was a kukuchi, a Quechua term which Lira describes either as "Espantajo ideal para atemorizar a los niños", or as "condenado, muerto o cadáver maléfico que interviene en la vida del hombre" (Lira n.d.:112). The description the girl gives strongly resembles Nuñez del Prado's description of the ñak'aq:



Es un personaje que viste una túnica blanca y una capucha muy parecida a la de los frailes dominicos. (Nuñez del Prado 1970:89)

It seems from this and from the folk tales, that the term condenado is used to cover a variety of malevolent beings, and not just the person condemned to walk the earth after death as a punishment for having committed incest or some other dreadful sin, although this is the most common reason for someone's having become a condenado. Informant #4, however, said she really thought there were such things as condenados and that one becomes a condenado through mistreating and striking one's mother. The following is a story which the Informant claims to be true of a woman who died and became a condenado in her village:

No. Realmente el condenado puede ser cierto. Una, bueno es en mi tierra. Sabe Ud. que había una señora. Yo me acuerdo ya estaba yo de unos quince años. Esta señora mucho le pegaba a su mamá. Su hija le pegaba a su mamá. Le jalaba los cabellos, así a disparates con su mamá. Entonces esta señora se murió de un mal parto. Entonces esta señora la vez que murió no gritaba--La señora había muerto de noche, y la mamá, de cariño a su hija, se le había tenido en las faldas toda la noche muerta. Y entonces esta señora como se murió no se había confesado, nada. no? Mejor dicho murió nomás pues así como un animalito. Entonces, bueno, esta señora murió. Tenía un esposo ella. Entonces el esposo le decía, "¿Por qué le pegas a tu madre? Es tu madre que te ha traído a este mundo." "Esta vieja no puede ser mi madre! ¿Por qué va a ser mi madre esta vieja?" diciendo le pegaba. La señora iba a la chacra, venía de la chacra, y mejor dicho, y ella borracha. Entonces venía, "Vieja ¿recién vienes?" entonces le pegaba. La pegaba como si fuera su esposo. La pegaba, y después que le pegara la señora se lloraba, le cocinaba, le daba de comer, todo. Y después, cuando murió, nosotros sintíamos--eso no es mentira--nadie me ha contado ¿no? Sino yo estaba de unos quince años. Entonces sintíamos nosotros a eso de las siete u ocho de la noche que daba miedo ese sitio de su casa, que daba miedo de andar. Se



sintía como un caballo. Ud. sabe como llora el caballo, "Hi, hi, hi, hi!" Así llora. Entonces pareció que una cadena--de ese caballo. No se lo veía, sino, "Chhalla, chhalla, cha, cha, hi, hi, hi!" andaba gritando, haciendo ruido. Y entonces nosotros de la noche, teníamos ya miedo de salir a la calle. Toda la gente ya teníamos miedo más o menos de ese pueblito. El sitio se llama Huampa. Más o menos que esa gente tenía ya miedo, teníamos miedo, mejor dicho, ya sernos tarde, tarde de la noche. Ya no salí, porque mucho ya la da miedo. Después--hay un sitio que se llama Machaguay, y así es que hay una quebrada que se llama Jollpa. Allí de esa quebrada de Jollpa, habían encontrado, no de noche, no? Que era de las doce del día, habían encontrado a una mujer con su hábito, con un candado en la boca, y agarraba cabellos. Ha agarrado un mano, pues, de cabellos, y en otra mano sus dientes de su mamá que lo había sacado pegándole. Y dice que le dijeron, "¿Qué cosa era que quería?" "Busco a mi madre." Pero dice que no miraba la gente. "Busco a mi madre," dice que decía. Después esa gente dieron parte a la, al padre, y fueron a ver la sepultura de esa persona que se había muerto. Fueron a ver, y no encontraron nadie en su cajón: vacío, estaba vacío. Y entonces que después--que así hasta el padre en misa nos explicaba, predicaba a los padres en el tiempo decía, "Padres de familia ¿por qué no crían bien a sus hijos? Vamos a ver que, este, que esta mujer ¿por qué se ha ido condenado? Que varios lo encuentran. Nosotros realmente no lo hemos visto, pero aquí gentes de respeto vienen y nos cuentan. Así es que nosotros deseamos saber de que, por qué se ha condenado esta mujer?" Y así es que la gente de ese sitio, mejor dicho, ya no podía pasar. Así uno o dos personas se le ha presentado, se le ha presentado, dice. Así es que andaban solo. Así, por ejemplo, en cuanto del pueblo, se esperaban cuatro, cinco, seis, siete personas para poder cruzar esa quebrada, sino les presentaba. Y así es que así hasta el padre han mandado una misa, todo. Quien le dice es en esa señora se perdió un mes la mamá. Entonces tenía esta señora su hijo y criaba un carnero, y el carnero había ido a hacer comer en un sitio que se llama Jollpa. Entonces en ese sitio se lo haiga llevado pues a su mamá. Dicen se perdió un mes. Buscaban hasta la policía. Dio parte, como se llama esto, el hijo, al puesto de Viraco, al puesto de Machaguay, "Que mi madre se ha desaparecido." Entonces, claro, los guardias, todos, acompañaron a buscar donde, que cosa ha pasado con su madre, y el carnero dice que en una pampa se gritaba el carnero y dice como si decía, pues, que su dueño se había perdido. Y dice que los pedazos de su ropa



de su vestido lo habían encontrado por las espigas, todo retaciado, pues, su ropa. Tenía--sabe Ud. lo que es 'puskar'? Es 'hilar', pues. Tenía una puska que andaba hilando. Y hasta la puska dice que ha botado. Tenía una manta que se carga en la espalda. Todo se encontraron botado. Y esto vieron hasta las autoridades. Entonces el padre nos explicaba en los días domingos; allá escuchamos los días domingos la misa. Así es que los padres, el padre explicaba y decía, "Madres de familia, padres de familia, críen bien a sus hijos para que más tarde no vayan a verse así. Pueden criar bien a los hijos, madres de familia. Críen a sus hijos bien porque hay de estas cosas. Ahora estamos viendo. Es realmente que se ha ido condenado a su hija. Posiblemente se lo ha llevado." Un mes se perdió esta señora. No sabían ni donde estaba, nada. Y volvió a regresar al mes. Pero-- más o menos que era familia de mi mamá, y claro, como nosotros hemos explicado en misa, que decía el padre que se ha perdido el fulano. Que no hay. Lo buscaban por todos sitios y no lo encontraron. Y del mes-- cumplió el mes. En la noche se apareció en su casa. Y esta señora no contaba donde había ido ni que cosa había tenido, nada.

Informant #7 also strongly believed there were such things as condenados, as did his nephew, Informant #19. They both mention the standard reasons for someone becoming a condenado, ill-treating one's mother, or committing incest:

Eso es la condenado. Por ejemplo, uno se pega a su mamá, o sea se compromete con su hermana; uno se compromete con su comadre. Ese--existe la condenado.

Informant #7 continues by telling what happens if you become a condenado, telling how God sends you to Mt. Ausangate, and that from there you have to go where God tells you:

El Señor dice, "¡Tu puedes ir al Ausangate!" Ya. Entonces al Ausangate va, entonces a él el Señor dice; entonces destina, "¡Tu vas a ir a este camino; vas a ir a éste!"

Núñez del Prado, talking about condenados mentions this belief (Núñez del Prado 1970:111). Informant #19 repeated his uncle's belief, insisting that condenados do exist, and that when a

person who has committed incest dies, "El cuerpo y alma se levantan y comienzan a andar".

Informant #9 said he didn't believe in condenados himself. Nonetheless, other people in Cuatro de Octubre had been talking about a girl who had become a condenado:

La otra vez, hace tres meses, otros nomás estaban hablando sobre la chica demoníaca que se ha condenado así por gusto.

Informant #14 believed that since we all have souls, we are punished in the after-life according to the way we have behaved in life. He said that this was based in religion, and in the Bible. Informant #14 believed that the soul can be condemned to Hell or to Purgatory after death, but did not believe that people who have been condemned come back to earth to suffer, as some people believe.

Informant #42, although not saying whether he personally thought there were such things as condenados implied that there were, and related the following story which he reputed to be true. Both he and another Informant, #45, said that this story had been broadcast on the radio in Arequipa. Neither Informant was acquainted with the other:

Chhayna huk vueltansi baile kasqa. Napi, cementerio qhepapi sabado p'unchau baile sabado tuta kasqa. Hinan bailepi tuta lloqsimusqaku; wasinkuman ripunku. Hina motopi hamusqa huk joven. Hina cementerio punkupi urayarasqa. Huk chica vestidoyaq kasqa; puka vestidoyoqsi kasqa mana sacoyoqlla. Hina moto bicicletapi urayaqtaqa atacarusqa makinwan. Hinaspanmi bajarasqa. Hina chicaqa nisqa, "Pusaway wasiyman," nispa. Hina jovenqa motobicicletapi qhepanpi pusachisqa. Pusachimusqa, nakama, San Martín, kay San Martín Pueblo Joven; chaykama pasachimusqa motopi. Hina jovenqa prestasqa la casacanta porque chiri, chiri thatasqa riki, nata, chicataqa nan--



"La casaykita mañaykuway," nisqa, nin. "Mañasqasyá, joven." Hinaspansi wasinman pusachiykun chicaoqa. Hinas chicaoqa pasaykun wasinman. Hina muru casacantapas apayapusqa. Hina, "Paqarinña qopusqayki sacoykitaqa porque manan wasiyta rikunkillataqqa. Hamunki hina; qopusqayki," nisqa. "Ya," nisqa jovenqa motobicicletapi pasakapusqa wasinman. Paqarinsi tarisqa la casacanman, nakuq, na pedykapun. Hinallataqmi mamitanqa contes-tanpusqa, "Manan wawayqa ususiyqa kanchu. Wañupunña," nispa nisqa. Hina jovenqa narrasqa y, "Ch'isitaq pusachimuwan kaymanqa. La casacayta qopuwachun," nispa nisqa hina. "Manan ususiy kanchu; wañupunña," nispa nisqa. Hinaspa fotografianta qhawarisqa ukhupi. Hinas, "Fotografianta qhawaykunakuy. Kaychu, wayqeymi, pusachimusqayki riki?" Chayqa, na, kasqa. "Kaymi!" nisqa. "Wañupunña payqa," nispa. Chayqa manchariy-kapusqa jovenqa. Hinaspansi panteonman pasachimusqa joven--mama taytan pusamusqa joventaga. Hinaspan panteonpi cementeriopi, napi, punkupi cementeriopi tarisqaku la casacata warkurayashasqa. Hinaspan chaypi jovenqa manchariykapusqaku llapanku. Chayqa la casacanta apakanpun hina jovenmanqa, jovenqa ataquepi kapusqa. Hinaspan onqorirun kaykaruspa joventaqqa. Hina joven, naman, hospitalmansí apachiykun. Hospitalpillataq onqokun hina wañupun chaypi. Hina condenada apaykapusqa. Tomaq mancharisqa--Kayqa pasaruq y hina wañupun chay joven, hina. Hina caso radiopis escuchakamun. Radiopis rimanku chay noticiapi. Hina caso pasan kay Arequipapi hina.

There was a dance one Saturday night behind the cemetery. After the dance finished late at night, the people left to go home. One young fellow headed off on his motorbike. At the gate to the cemetery, however, he noticed a girl with a red dress, but not wearing a coat. He stopped the bike and began to get off, at which point the girl ran over and began to pound him with her fists. "Take me home," she begged, so the young man helped her on to the pillion. She made him take her on his bike to the shanty town of San Martín. "Lend me your jacket," the girl said, to which the young fellow said, "Certainly," because the girl was shivering with cold. So the girl made the young man take her home. She took his tweed jacket and said, "I'll give you your jacket back tomorrow because you'll not be able to see my house. Come then, and I'll give you it back." "O.K." the young man said and headed for his own house on his bike. The following day he went to ask for his jacket back. The girl's mother answered the door and said, "I don't have a daughter. She died a while ago." Well, the young fellow told her all about it and explained, "Last night she brought me here, and now I'd like her to give me my jacket back."



"But I don't have a daughter; she died." She invited him into the house to look at a photograph of her daughter. "Take a look at the photo. Tell me, friend, is this the girl who brought you here last night?" It was her. "This is the one," the young man answered. "She's dead," the woman said and the young fellow got very scared. The girl's mother and father went with the young man to the cemetery, and at the gate to the cemetery they found the jacket hanging from the gate. At this point, they all got frightened. They handed the jacket back to the young man, but he suddenly had an attack. He became sick because of all the things that had happened. They took the young man to the hospital but he died there. The condenado had taken him. She had frightened him to death--This happened and the young man died. The incident was announced on the radio, and they talked about it on the news. It happened right here in Arequipa.

What is interesting about this story is that it is an example of traditional Quechua belief, narrated in Quechua but set in a modern context. Condenados are not just entities found in the Sierra. Clearly, in the eyes of this Informant, the girl in the story is not just a plain, old, ghost in the Western sense but a supernatural being who can carry off the living, can kill them. This can happen in the city as well as in the country.

### The Pagos

Most of the Informants with reference to the specialists involved with the rites of curing and paying the earth used the curandero to cover all the different classes. There is little doubt that pagos, originally from the Sierra, live and practise their craft in Arequipa, and that people still see a need for them. There is also an awareness among the Informants of the beliefs concerning how a paqo is given his powers through having been struck by



lightning, and of what his particular powers and functions are.

Informant #8 said he had a cousin who was a paqo in the centre of Arequipa in Puente Fierro:

Yo tengo mi hermano, mi primo, paqo. Paga para la tierra. Puente Fierropi tiyan kay centropi. Chaypi tiyan. Chaypi sapa p'unchay talman consultaq purinkuyari--hacer sortear divorciados, brujerías. Montón de cosas es eso.

I have a brother, I mean a cousin, who is a paqo. He pays the earth. He lives right here in the centre of town in Puente Fierro. That's where he lives. Every day people go to him for a consultation on some matter or other--to find out about a divorce, or if they've been bewitched. He deals with all kinds of things.

Informant #8 admitted that his cousin can earn as much as three hundred, or even five hundred soles a night plying his trade. He charges clients according to what they can afford. Twenty soles is the average for one examination of the coca leaves, for one prognostication.

It has already been seen above that Informant #9 pays the earth with assistance from a paqo who comes from the pueblo joven of Hunter, and that #36 knew of a curandero from Chihuata on the slopes of El Misti who had the reputation of being able to cure asustados, and he lived just opposite her. Informant #14's wife was certain there were curanderos in Arequipa as a whole, and in her own pueblo joven of Cuatro de Octubre. Through fear of doctors, people from the Sierra preferred, therefore, to go to a curandero.

Informant #1 recognised all the terms for paqo, and said that they all meant 'doctor'. He stated that only those

who know can be pagos, and especially those who have been struck by lightning.

Informant #4 referred to the pagos as adivinos, 'diviners', and said that people say they have been hit by lightning three times:

Dicen que los ha agarrado ese--como rayo--Pues te dice que tiene que quemar tres veces.

Informant #10 knew what pagos were, but, in contrast to the admission of other Informants who clearly acknowledged their existence in the city said there were not any:

Para buscar todavía hay; no se encuentran aquí.

With regards to the altomesayog and the pampamesayog, this Informant said she had heard of them but she did not know any.

Informant #11 used the term hanpikuq, 'curer', to describe the pago, a term also used by Informant #14 and his wife. #10 said that there were other types of pagos, but they were witches, brujos, who made your body burn, and could do all kinds of things to make you sicken and die. They do this because someone has become jealous of you, "Chay envidioso kaymanta chayta ruwanku." The brujos were called layqa in Quechua.

Informant #14 said that the term layqa was an insult, and his wife stated that if you do not give a curandero what he asks for, or if you offend him, then he can become vengeful and perform evil against you. In this case you would call him layqa machu. #14 said that he did not know what an altomesayog was. However, his wife said that the altomesayog was ". . . más mayor que pagan. Que hacen pues a los que



hacen mal daño también." He is more powerful than the other pagos, and can counteract any evil done to you by another curandero at someone else's instigation.

Informant #37 said she knew a paqo who is a friend of her father's, but he lives in the Sierra. She referred to him as a qhawaq, 'diviner'. She didn't think that there would be any pagos in Arequipa.

Informant #41 was sure there were pagos and layqas in Arequipa, although they were more common in the Sierra. Because her family were now evangélicos, they didn't practise any of the old ways. She still feared witchcraft, however, but felt the Lord would protect her. Back in the Sierra, she and her family had experienced what they believed was witchcraft performed against them. The family's cattle had been killed, and later the father had died as a result of witchcraft. After his death, the mother had had enough and decided to move to Arequipa. The following is the story Informant #41 told:

~Noqaq llaqtaypi, anchay, na, wakayta layqa wañuchiran. Layqaspa huk runa layqa completo karan. Hinaspa chay runa wakayku wakaykuta q'alata tukuran wañuchispa. Chupan ukhullamanta chay wakata q'alan chupantakama kuchurun. Hinaspan, chaymanta, naspan, naman, machuman winaramusqa qaqa sikiman. Anchay qaqa sikipi huk machu kaq anchay hinas tulluyaspa wakakuna q'ala askha waka tukukapuan. Anchay wakakuna, naqtin, wañuqtin, mamitay iskayllata wakata venderan. Chay wakakuna wañusqanta allqo mikhuran. Mana runapis mikhuranñachu. Allqollaña mikhuran huk tutapaq wañuspa paqariq, chunka, pisqa, hina p'unchaypis mikhusqanpi. Wanurapun tawa, pisqa. Ahinata wañuq wakayku pampakunapi chuta chutansi qarallanta ch'ustiqqa hermanoykuna. Chayqa toraykuna ch'ustin qarallanta, chay naspan, allqollaña mikhukapun. Tullullaña kanmi naqtin. Chayta manaña mikhuspapas atiqchu kayku.



Asnaranña wakakunapis hinaspa. Flacallanña, tullullanña tullun qaranwan t'epoyusqallanña. Chayta chay, chay runa qallunpis karqan, na karqan. Pasaq layqapuni chay runa karqan, runata wañuchi. Hinaspan chay runa qallu, qallunpis karqan yana, yana. Chay, chay runa sapota uywasqa mosoq mankapi rimanen, chay sapowan consultananpaq. Anchayninta hinaqa mamay papay rikun hinaspa. Chayta horqo--naspan, chay runa kunan wañun, hinas wawan quedan. Wawankunaqa kashanraqsi pero mananña kunan rikuniñachu maypin chay llaqtaypi kanman.

Anchay na, chay, namanta, chay huk warmipis. Chay huk warmipis papayta wañuchin layqaspa. Ukhumanta chay carbon kutata hina qomun naspa. Anchayna papaypa wixsanpipas sapo karan; winaran hatunta. Hinas papay chaki tulluyaspa wañupun. Tullun qaranwan wixsanpis wasanmi matarapun. Chay wixsanpitanmi hatun qarayta sapo wiñan. Hinaspa sapo waqarqan wixsanpi, "K'iyu k'iyu, k'iyu k'iyu, kir, kir, kir," así. Hinaspan chaywan papay wañukapun chay sapo wixsanpi wiñarapuqtin. Chhayna papay wañupuqtin, kay Arequipaman kunan hamurani, mamitay aburrikuwaqtin. Chhayna kay Arequipapi na chunka wataña tiyani. Chhayna layqasqawan papaypas wañukapuran.

Back in my home town a layqa killed my cattle. There was a man, an out-and-out layqa, who would perform witchcraft. That man killed all of our cattle. He went so far as to cut the tails off the cattle. He then put them at the base of a rock where there were the bones of a machu, a gentil. Like that the cattle turned to bones, getting thinner and thinner, and so he killed all of them. When all these cattle died, mother had only two cows to sell. The dogs ate the cattle that had died. Nobody else would eat them now. The dogs ate them one night, but the next day four or five lay dead from what they had eaten; four or five. My brothers dragged the cattle's carcasses out to the field, and they and my sisters skinned them. It was after this that the dogs ate them. Only the cattle's bones were left. We couldn't eat them then. The cattle stank. They had got thinner and thinner until they were just like a bag of skin and bones. All this happened at that man's command. He was a layqa for sure, a murderer. His tongue was black with evil. In a new pot he used to keep a toad which he would talk to and consult with. My mother and father were aware of what he was up to. The man is dead now, but his children are still alive. I haven't seen them for ages now, and I don't even know where they are living back home.

There was another one, a woman, who killed my father with witchcraft. She put something into his



food which looked like ground charcoal. It turned out that my father had a toad in his stomach, and it grew big. Father's limbs started to get thin, and later he died. His back and his stomach, his whole body turned to skin and bone and it killed him. The toad grew big off the food in my father's stomach. You could hear the toad croaking in his stomach, "K'iyu k'iyu, k'iyu k'iyu, kir, kir, kir," just like that. My father died because of the toad growing in his stomach. After my father died, I came to Arequipa; my mother was fed up with me. I've lived in Arequipa for ten years now. So you see how my father died of witchcraft.

From the accounts given above by the Informants with respect to various aspects of traditional Quechua belief, it is evident that there is continuance of these beliefs and practices among the immigrants now living in the city. This crosses both age and time barriers, and Informants young and old, new residents and old residents, are seen able to give accounts of the significances of various traditional Quechua beliefs and practices. Nonetheless, it is also apparent that Quechua religious beliefs and practices in the city do not have the same vitality and meaning as they do in the rural environment of the Sierra. There is knowledge of the old beliefs on the part of the Informants, but it is often a passive knowledge. Excellent, vivid descriptions are given by the Informants of how the beliefs manifest themselves in practice, but personal belief or involvement in these is disavowed, in some cases due to conversion to a protestant faith which does not allow syncretism to develop; in others, because these beliefs mostly hold relevance only in an agricultural setting. As an example of this is seen the lessening importance of the Apus and the Aukis in the belief structure. Belief in the

gentiles, too, is disappearing mainly because it is believed that there are no pre-colombian graves in the immediate Arequipa area. There are, however, pre-colombian graves in Chachani and Picchu Picchu, and even as close as the pueblo joven of Hunter near which the University La Católica had an official archaeological dig in 1971. Most of the accounts given by the Informants refer to the lives they or their parents have lived in the Sierra. Old beliefs and practices, which held great significance in the ordering of their lives in the Sierra, in the city have often been relegated to the ranks of folklore, and so is seen the example of Informant #36 who, although no longer believing in the powers of the Apus, can nevertheless quote in Quechua the words a pago involved in curing a sick man would use to call down the Apu. Similarly, Informant #41 gives an account of how she played with the gentiles, and of how a layqa killed her father.

While many of the above accounts do show a diminishing belief in the old ways, and only a passive knowledge of these as opposed to their actual practice, it is also evident that some of the old practices do still continue in the city. In particular, it was seen that people do still pay the earth, believe in the supernatural causes of certain illnesses, and seek out curanderos for fear of going to a doctor. It is also clear from the testimonies of several Informants that Quechua curanderos are to be found in the city. Supernatural entities like the condenado, as seen in Informant #42's story, are believed to exist in the city as well as in the country.



All in all, while it is true that the traditional Quechua beliefs and practices by which the Quechuas have given order to their lives over the centuries hold greatest sway in the Sierra where natural elements continue to hold the people in awe, the move by immigrants to the city has not resulted in their total, nor even rapid, disappearance in the rational, secular environment to be found there. At best, they actively continue to be practised, and at worst they still serve to identify the urbanizador as being Quechua, and have become a part of his folklore. His religious traditions, whether actively practised in the city or not, are very different from the Spanish-oriented religious manifestations encountered among the native Arequipeño population which celebrates Holy Week, visits the shrine of the Virgen de Chapi, etc. This is a separate and very different tradition from the one which the Quechua immigrant has brought with him from the Sierra, and which strongly identifies him as being Quechua.

CHAPTER VI

THE SOCIO-LINGUISTIC ASPECT OF  
QUECHUA IN THE CITY

This chapter will examine the situation of Quechua language in the urban environment. This will involve the questions of whether Quechua still operates as a functional means of communication in the city among immigrants, whether there has occurred a partial or total shift from Quechua to Spanish, and whether there has evolved an urban variety of Quechua due to migration to the city.

The Language Status of the Informants

All the Informants were Quechua/Spanish bilinguals with the exception of Informant #40, who was a Quechua monolingual. Quechua was the first language for all the Informants except #45 who learned it as a second language, although he claimed to have had a passive knowledge of it as a child. Although some Informants, e.g. #11, had learned Spanish on moving to the city, most had already acquired some Spanish before leaving the Sierra.

Knowledge of Spanish is essential for the immigrant to benefit from the move to the city. He needs it to find employment, to get the necessary papers to settle legally in the shanty town, while his children need it to cope with the



city educational system. It is vital to his survival. Pressure begun in the Sierra towards making the Quechua speaker learn Spanish is intensified in the city where the dominant language and culture is Spanish. Conditions in the city, then, would appear to be highly conducive to language shift.

### The Question of Language Shift

#### Degree of Shift and Contributing Factors

Data in the corpus is not extensive enough to assess the degree of shift from Quechua to Spanish that has taken place among the Informants. Studies done by Myers and Albo, however, would seem to indicate that there has taken place a high degree of shift. Albo claims that Quechua has virtually disappeared among migrants living on the coast, with children readily abandoning the language of their parents as access to education is improved (Albo 1974:228). Myers, on the other hand, shows that in spite of a shift to Spanish, Quechua is still used in certain situations among immigrants (Myers 1973:160).

In the Arequipa situation, it was clear that Spanish was the language of general communication in the pueblos jóvenes and in the city at large. Obviously, Spanish was required in all dealings with officials in government offices and with employers and bosses. In the pueblos jóvenes themselves, however, Spanish was also the lingua franca. This can be partly attributed to the prestige value of the language, but also to the frequent existence of a variety of Quechua dialects compounded with Aymara in any one shanty town. In

Arequipa, most of the Quechua dialects to be found (Cuzco, Puno and Apurimac) were mutually intelligible. This is not the case in Lima. People from different dialectal areas, however, for the most part, preferred to use Spanish with each other. Cases of intermarriage between Quechua and Aymara immigrants occurred as in the case of Informant #9. In such instances, Spanish, of course, has to be used in the family situation.

The children of immigrants, even where parents show strong allegiance to Quechua, in many cases show little indication of speaking it. Informants #2 and #3 claimed that their children could understand Quechua, but could not speak it. It was clear, while watching the children at play, that they only communicated in Spanish. The children of Informant #36 had not learned Quechua even though their mother was obviously proud of her Quechua heritage:

. . . nunca me olvidé yo, cuando iba a mi tierra, hablar Quechua. A cualquiera yo hablaba porque no quería yo perderme mis amigas, o mi mamá poner al suelo.

Even here, however, there is the suggestion that while it is fine to speak Quechua back in the mountains, Spanish is the language of the city. Both her children were well-educated and it was obvious that this was a major factor in their not having learned Quechua.

Not all children of immigrants fail to learn or acquire only a rudimentary knowledge of Quechua. Where there is at least one parent who is monolingual in Quechua, then the children grow up bilingual. Such was the case with the family of



Informant #7. With his wife being monolingual in Quechua, #7's children grew up speaking both Spanish, which they used at school, and Quechua, which was used in the home.

One cannot underestimate the multiple pressures which exist to make the immigrant learn Spanish. Nonetheless, the use of Quechua is not totally abandoned in the city. For example, Quechua was frequently heard in the markets between the vendors and customers, in the streets between friends, in the stores in the pueblos jóvenes, and during the bi-weekly assemblies in the pueblos jóvenes.

#### Factors Influencing Language Use

According to Myers' findings, the shift from Quechua to Spanish takes place initially outwith the pueblos jóvenes, i.e. it is in the city proper where one sees the most Spanish spoken by Quechua immigrants. In the neighbourhoods, less Spanish is used, while it is in the home that Quechua is most used and the shift to Spanish less quick to occur. The work tends to mirror the situation in the neighbourhood.

Certain social areas in which the immigrant finds himself cause a complete shift from Quechua to Spanish, notably the areas of the Church and government offices (Myers 1973:161). Spanish is the language of business, and social situations (note the use of Spanish in pueblo joven assemblies).

In informal situations, the use of Spanish diminishes. Myers cites the examples of sports and food. In Arequipa, soccer matches took place where Quechua was heard among the players and spectators alike. Folk dance concerts were other

occasions where Quechua could be heard frequently among spectators.

Quechua in the city, however, is most used in intimate situations. Examples of such situations given by Myers are sharing secrets and telling jokes (Myers 1973:161). Gatherings where folk tales were narrated and riddles told serve as good examples of a comparable situation with regards to this study.

Which language is used is determined by the person spoken to by a given individual. In simple terms, a Quechua immigrant is more likely to use Quechua with his immediate family and friends than with strangers. Also, he will tend to use Quechua with somebody from his home town or region, be they friends, or merely strangers that look as if they come from the same region (Myers 1973:161).

Myers also found that sex had little influence on the language used with people outwith the family, but with relatives, more Spanish was used with males than with females (Myers 1973:161). In the Arequipa situation the male Informants were all more fluent in Spanish than the women, with only a very few exceptions. This would seem to indicate more use of Spanish by males than by females.

Age also plays a part in determining which language is used. Spanish, it was seen, is used when speaking to children, as it is important for their improvement, as a means of giving them a better chance in life. Quechua, on the other hand, is more used when addressing older relatives or friends,



as was observed when the mother of Informant #2 arrived from Puno for a visit, and during a taping session with Informants #36, #40, #41 and #42. Informant #40, apart from being monolingual in Quechua, was also the oldest Informant interviewed. The Spanish of older immigrants such as #40 in many cases is extremely limited, or non-existent.

Myers' findings, then, would seem to indicate a decreasing use of Quechua (i.e. a shift to Spanish), the farther the immigrant moves from the family, close acquaintances, and neighbourhood, and the more he has to deal with the institutions of the national, Spanish-oriented culture of the inner city.

#### Factors Contributing to Quechua Maintenance

One should be wary, however, of thinking that the use of Quechua in the new city ambience will fall into decline and eventually die out. While in the past, there has been strong pressure forcing the Quechua to learn Spanish, in the present, there may be taking place a counter movement leading to respect for the indigenous language, especially now that, on paper at least, Quechua has become an official language in Peru. Publication of a Quechua version of the newspaper La Cronica ('Cronicawan'), while providing an outlet for the aspirations of the Quechuólogos, probably did little for the average Quechuista barely, if at all, able to wrestle with the standard orthography of Spanish, let alone cope with the many orthographic variants found in the Quechua newspaper. Nonetheless, the very fact of officialization of Quechua

provided a marked change in attitude by Quechua speakers towards their own language and culture. Suddenly, for a moment at least, people were proud to admit that they were Quechua speakers. Officialization of Quechua helped to take away much of the feeling of inferiority which the Quechua had had for so long, and brought about an increase in his self-esteem. While the officialization of Quechua undoubtedly helped in this regard, other factors, linked not to any official approval of the language, but to the migration phenomenon and the new communities established thereby, were also at play.

In the Sierra, it was the mestizo towards whom the Indian looked as a model for social and economic progress (Myers 1973:166). It was also from the mestizo sector and from its treatment of the Indian that much of the Indian's feeling of inferiority derived. The move to the city, however, removes the Quechua from this situation. The mestizo is no longer the only model to be emulated, the only symbol of progress. More and more, the Indian himself, speaking both Spanish and Quechua, makes good, and sets an example for others to follow or to aspire towards (Myers 1973:166).

In short, the city Indian has less need to feel ashamed of his own language and culture. As Myers says, however, it is no easy matter to break the effects of past prejudices. The Quechua has always had a pride in his own cultural and linguistic institutions, but the feelings of inferiority created by mestizo antagonism towards him, have tended



to overshadow any feeling of pride and self-worth that the Quechua has had. In the city, this pattern is slowly being broken:

It is as though layers of pride in Quechua alternate with layers of shame toward an Indian heritage. Which layer is at the surface varies depending upon the situation as well as the migrant's particular life experience. (Myers 1973:165)

Essentially, in the pueblos jóvenes, the Quechua finds that it is no longer as necessary to be assimilated into the mes-tizo way of life in order to progress. Force of numbers gives the urban Quechua feelings of solidarity with his own culture, and to a great extent he is able to benefit from the city and yet still identify with his own language, as opposed to denying it, especially now that Quechua as a language has government recognition. Where once, and this can be seen in some cases above, children were prevented from learning Quechua, the new pride in the language has led to many parents encouraging their children to learn at least something of the language, or at worst to understand it. Informant #11's children were being taught Quechua by their mother. Informant #20 said that they spoke both Quechua and Spanish in the home, saying that it was important that his children should know both languages:

Estamos enseñando [Quechua] porque es necesario que sepan también ese idioma.

While language shift has taken place to a great extent, it is a highly individualistic process, and there would also appear to be some evidence to suggest that spoken Quechua is being maintained in the city and that this is constantly

being reinforced with the continuing influx of immigrants from the Sierra. The question now arises as to the linguistic nature of the spoken Quechua as encountered in the city, and to whatever changes may, or may not, have taken place.

### The Linguistic Situation of Quechua in the City

The question of the effects of contact between Spanish and Quechua in the city is not one that can be adequately answered in a short space. Nevertheless, some general points can be made with regards to Quechua/Spanish bilingualism in general, and to urban Quechua in particular. To understand anything about current Quechua/Spanish bilingualism, it is necessary to look at the language contact between Quechua and Spanish in a historical perspective.

### Historical Perspective of Quechua Spanish Contact

Historically speaking, the Spanish conquest and subsequent colonization of Peru resulted in the indigenous population being forced to learn Spanish in order to deal with the invader and the institutions he brought with him from Spain: the Church, government, and legal system in particular. As Escobar puts it:

. . . la irrupción del español produce una situación dual que alinea en un sector a todas las lenguas de origen americano y en el otro al castellano. La oposición lingüística condice con la estratificación que deslinda entre señores y siervos, dominantes y dominados. (Escobar 1971:20-21)

This situation fulfilled the requirements suggested by Mackey for bilingualism to develop, namely, two linguistic communities existing side by side and having to communicate over a pro-



longed period of time (Mackey 1968:554; Hoggarth 1974:7). The bilingualism situation was imbalanced, with the Quechua population, for various reasons, economic, social, and coercion notwithstanding, learning the language of the dominant group, without a reciprocal learning of Quechua by this group.

This bilingual situation affected both Spanish and Quechua. Initially, both languages adopted lexical terms for objects and concepts alien to the respective languages, i.e. "designative inadequacies". Thus Quechua, in the initial period of contact, adopted such terms as alma, iglesia, cura, cruz, etc., all derived from the early catechization process by Spanish missionaries who, apart from catechisms, were forbidden to discuss any aspect of Christian Doctrine in the indigenous language (Cobo 1893:157). The names of animals brought from Europe also entered the Quechua vocabulary during the early period. Such Spanish lexical terms as borrego, oveja, vaca, caballo, etc., can now be considered as being 'integrated' into the Quechua lexical system. As the period of language contact increased, more and more Spanish terms were adopted by Quechua. Cobo attests to the early borrowing of Spanish terms, and to the areas in which these borrowings occurred:

Los vocablos más frecuentes de los nuestros que han introducido en su lengua son todos los significativos de los misterios de nuestra santa fe, de nuestras ciencias, artes y oficios, y de sus instrumentos y adherentes; de todas las cosas que habemos traído de Europa y ellos no las conocían antes, porque con la misma cosa han recibido el nombre della; y otras voces y dicciones comunes, como son perdón y perdonar porque lo que ellos tenían para esto significa propiamente olvidar.

Item los verbos de vender, comprar, y pagar, que el que ellos usaban para vender significa trocar una cosa por otra; y otros innumerables: con que su lengua se ha enriquecido y aumentado con nuestros vocablos mucho más que la nuestra con lo que nosotros habemos tomado dellos. (Cobo 1893:157)

Today, as a result of historic and present language contact, it is virtually impossible to talk of a 'pure' Quechua. The indigenous language shows interference from Spanish in several linguistic areas, with the degree of interference depending to a great extent on the level of bilingualism attained by the individual speaker. Other factors, of course, play a part in determining the degree of bilingualism of the individual, and the use of terms and patterns from the second language in the first. The theory of bilingualism is extensive and complex (See Weinreich 1967; Diebold 1964; Mackey 1968; Haugen 1953 and 1956). A detailed description of this theory is not necessary here, although a distinction should be made between the terms 'integration' and 'interference'. The former implies the permanent adoption of some linguistic feature by one language from another, whereas 'interference', to use Mackey's definition, is "the use of features belonging to one language while speaking or writing another", or as Haugen calls it, "the overlapping of two languages" (Mackey 1968:569; Haugen 1956:40). 'Interference', then, has to do with the speech of the individual at a given period, and not with the linguistic features which a language as a whole adopts as its own from another language with which it has come into contact. Integrated loans do occur in Quechua, e.g. in the categories mentioned by Cobo, but many more fall under the



realm of 'interference'. What will be examined here is more the Saussurean concept of "parole" rather than "langue" (Saussure 1916). Before looking at the features of spoken Quechua in the city, it is necessary to first of all examine the linguistic features of Quechua as spoken today among bilinguals in the Sierra for whom it is a first language.

#### Features of Sierra Quechua - Outline

The Quechua of the Southern Sierra and Altiplano of Peru shows a marked tendency to borrow from Spanish. This, of course, varies according to the individual and his degree of bilingualism, and to other factors, such as whether that individual lives in a rural area with a correspondingly higher incidence of monolingual Quechua speakers, or whether he has frequent contact with the Spanish sector, as in the Sierra towns. In her work among Quechua/Spanish bilinguals in Calca, Department of Cuzco, Hoggarth found that Quechua was heavily influenced by Spanish, with there being 24.5% Spanish forms found in her Quechua texts, as opposed to only 7.3% Quechua forms in the Spanish texts (Hoggarth 1974:108). Of particular interest, however, is the fact that it was in the area of the lexicon that the greatest interference from Spanish was seen in the case of Informants with Quechua as a first language (Hoggarth 1974:110). Of the Spanish loans found in the Quechua texts, very few, mainly religious terms, could be classed with any degree of certainty as 'integrated' (Hoggarth 1974:109).

The lexical borrowings found by Hoggarth fall into a variety of categories ranging from Church and Religion, to

toponymy and personal names (Hoggarth 1974:87). Spanish forms occurred in Quechua which were both 'modified', i.e. were used in conjunction with Quechua suffixation, or were adapted to the Quechua phonemic system, and 'unmodified', i.e. being taken unchanged from Spanish. The lexical borrowings were, for the most part, nominals.

Phonemic interference from Spanish was also seen to occur in Quechua, but here most of the interference consisted of speakers for whom Quechua was a second language simplifying the Quechua phonemic distinction between e.g. plain stops, aspirated stops and glottal stops. /p/, /ph/, and /p'/ are consequently all reduced to /p/. In the case of speakers for whom Quechua was a first language, phonemic interference was limited to the introduction of voiced stops, which are alien to the Quechua system. Even here, however, voiced stops only appeared in Spanish loans (Hoggarth 1974:101).

Grammatical interference, according to Hoggarth, consisted of the introduction of bound morphemes, and syntactic patterns from Spanish. Transfer of bound morphemes consisted of the transfer of Spanish verb stems most, although not all, of which were -ar verbs. While no Spanish inflectional suffixes appeared in Quechua, there were cases of derivational suffixes occurring, e.g. diminutives, but once again, these were mostly used only with Spanish loans, or with Quechua forms which had been integrated into Spanish (Hoggarth 1974:103). Most instances of Spanish syntactic patterns appearing in Quechua were the product of Quechua speakers whose first



language was Spanish. Unlike Quechua speakers for whom Quechua was a first language they did not place the verb at the end of the sentence. They also showed a tendency towards literal translation from Spanish into Quechua (Hoggarth 1974: 104).

If one were to summarise Sierra Quechua today in the light of Hoggarth's findings, one would have to say that the main area of interference and integration is in that of its lexicon. It has borrowed many forms from Spanish, and indeed shows a potential for limitless borrowing. Hoggarth maintains that her material demonstrates a tendency towards increased borrowing from Spanish. While Spanish loans are on the increase in Quechua, however, its grammar remains mostly unchanged, a fact which rules out any suspicion of a pidgin being formed from an amalgam of Spanish and Quechua (Hoggarth 1974: 111). Hoggarth claims that her evidence:

. . . would seem to point to an increase in a variety of Quechua in which Spanish lexicon abounds, and in which the range of Quechua phonemes is decreased, while Spanish phonemes replace them or are used in addition to them. (Hoggarth 1974:111)

Hoggarth's research provides valuable insight into the state of Quechua in the Sierra, but how does the Quechua as spoken in the increased contact situation such as is found in the city compare with the above findings? Does the situation in the city mirror that of the Sierra, or have significant changes taken place such as foreseen above?

### Features of Urban Quechua

Unlike Hoggarth's Informants who covered a wide range of levels of bilingualism, the majority of Informants in this study were all 1Q:2S speakers (i.e. first language Quechua/second language Spanish), and could be classed as subordinate bilinguals (See Diebold 1964:496 for a definition of levels of bilingualism). This, therefore, would rule out, in theory at least, the possibility for some of the interference such as only occurred in the Quechua of 1S:2Q, namely substrat influence of Spanish resulting in such features as the simplification into one stop of Quechua plosive, aspirated, and glottal stops. On the other hand, many of the other types of interference found among 1Q:2S bilinguals in the Sierra are mirrored in the speech of the city Informants. This is not surprising, as essentially speech habits acquired in the Sierra are merely continued and prolonged in the city. Although being wary of claiming that this is a feature of the Quechua of all the Informants in the corpus, everyday topics as discussed by Informant #14 tend to produce a much higher level of interference from Spanish in all areas than in other more traditional contexts such as story telling, riddling, and singing. For example, referring back to the short autobiographical passage occurring in Chapter II (p. 40-41), the whole passage, of which this is but a part, contains a total of 92 words, no less than 52 of which are Spanish. There are nominals such as chico-raq, 'still a child', sastreria-pi, 'in a tailor's shop', tiempo; use of Spanish bound morphemes with



Quechua suffixation such as trabaja-ra-ni, 'I worked', consegue-ra-yku-pu-ni-chu, 'I didn't find. . .'; unmodified Spanish adverbs, e.g. siempre, 'still' (Peruvian usage); use of Spanish conjunctions as opposed to Quechua ones, e.g. entonces, además, porque; and even wholesale use of complete Spanish phrases in sentences, e.g. así que siempre había barreras. In spite of this, the grammar, intonation, phonemic structure, and syntax are still basically Quechua. In contrast to this, the language used in the folk tale narrated by Informant #14 showed much less interference, and in the songs, interference from Spanish was either non-existent, as in song 2, p. 371, Appendix III, or limited to a few probably integrated loans such as lazo-n, 'lasso', toro, 'bull', toreador, 'bull-fighter', and plaza-manta, 'from the square/bullring'.

It seems likely that there are areas of urban activity such as politics, education, factory work, etc., which Informants like #14 probably find easier to discuss in Spanish owing to the large amount of Spanish vocabulary, technical terms, jargon, etc., necessary to discuss them effectively. This probably explains the large amount of interference in the passage mentioned above or in the following passage by Informant #39, a Spanish version of which can be found in Chapter II, (p. 46-47), discussing the organization of the pueblo joven:

~  
 Ñoqayku kaypi--quechuamanta nishayki, parlashayki eligisakuq secretaria genaralta. Chay componenqa primeramente kay grupota formayku comite vecinalmanta coordinadormanta componen chayqa huk coordinadorpaq, o mejor dicho, huk comite iskay manzana forman o tawa manzana según, no?

On the other hand, when more traditional, i.e. less specifically urban related, topics are discussed, Quechua can be used effectively. As will be pointed out, the Quechua in the corpus shows all of the features and tendencies mentioned by Hoggarth with regards to the Quechua of bilinguals in the Sierra.

### Lexical Interference

In the area of the lexicon, the Quechua of the city Informants unquestionably borrows extensively from Spanish. Here is seen not only the use of Spanish forms, both modified and unmodified, to cover 'designative inadequacies', but their use even in cases where there are perfectly adequate Quechua equivalents, e.g. ratón for huk'ucha, zorro for atoq, chico for maqt'a, pueblo for llaqta, viajero for puriq, fuerza for kallpa, to mention only a very few.

Religious vocabulary is probably the most integrated, and in the corpus several examples occur in this lexical category. Examples of interference are listed according to Informant, and to the context in which the interference occurred, i.e. in a folk tale (F.T.), interview (I), non-traditional narrative (N.T.N.), and riddles (R). Both modified and unmodified forms appear, with the Spanish base being underlined. The following are examples of religious lexical items:



<u>Informant</u>	<u>Lexical Item</u>	<u>Context</u>
# 1	<u>zurriago-y-wan</u> <u>cargo-y-pi</u>	F.T. "
# 2	<u>alma-puni</u> <u>condenado-qa</u> <u>vela-s</u> <u>alma</u> <u>diablo</u> <u>San Cipriano libro-ta-s</u>	F.T. " " " " "
# 4	<u>dios-ni-n-ta</u> <u>iglesia-man</u>	F.T. "
# 8	<u>alma-nchis-ta</u> <u>espíritu</u> <u>Dios-ta</u> <u>fantasma</u>	I " " "
#11	<u>brujo</u>	I
#19	<u>diablo-ta-qa</u> <u>condenado-qa</u> <u>rosario</u> <u>iglesia-n-man</u> <u>agua bendita-ta</u> <u>cruz-ni-yoq</u> <u>zurriago-ta</u>	F.T. " " " " " "
#32	<u>cruz-ta</u> <u>cargo-ta</u> <u>cargo-yoq-qa</u>	I " "
#38	<u>santos-manta</u>	I
#40	<u>iglesia-q</u> <u>campana</u>	R "

As Spanish is the language of laws and politics, it should not be surprising that Quechua should have adopted some of the lexicon dealing with these concepts. The following are some of the examples which occurred in the corpus. Notice that some of the items are terms used in the new political organization of the pueblo joven:

<u>Informant</u>	<u>Lexical Item</u>	<u>Context</u>
#14	<u>ningún papel-pas</u>	I
	<u>este resolución</u>	"
	<u>S.I.N.A.M.O.S.-manta</u>	"
	<u>carnet-cha-ta</u>	"
	<u>libreta-yoq</u>	"
	<u>ciudadano-chu</u>	"
	<u>trato-ta</u>	F.T.
#19	<u>contrato-ta</u>	F.T.
	<u>guardia-qa</u>	"
#39	<u>carcel-man</u>	I
	<u>secretario general-ta</u>	"
	<u>comite vecinal-manta</u>	"
	<u>coordinador-manta</u>	"
#44	<u>municipal-man</u>	F.T.
	<u>carcel-man-raq-si</u>	"
	<u>guardia-ta</u>	"
	<u>asesion-kuna-manta</u>	"
	<u>(i.e. asesinato-kuna-manta)</u>	"
	<u>preso</u>	"

Lexical items connected with education are mostly taken from Spanish, as can be seen in the examples below:

<u>Informant</u>	<u>Lexical Item</u>	<u>Context</u>
# 3	<u>colegio-pi</u>	F.T.
# 4	<u>profesor</u>	F.T.
#11	<u>colegio-man</u>	I
	<u>jardín</u>	"
	<u>analfabeto</u>	"
	<u>escuela-man</u>	"
	<u>profesor-ta</u>	"
#14	<u>primaria-y-ta</u>	I
	<u>colegio</u>	"
	<u>escuela bellas artes-man</u>	"
	<u>error-ni-yoq-ta-ña-chu</u>	"
	<u>primer año</u>	"
	<u>transición</u>	"
	<u>profesor-ni-yku</u>	"
#19	<u>colegio-kuna-ta</u>	F.T.



#20	<u>colegio-pi</u>	I
	<u>nocturna-pi</u>	"
	<u>media-pi</u>	"
	<u>secundario común</u>	"

While temporal expressions like wata, 'year', and p'unchay, 'day', exist in Quechua, most expressions of time, distance, the seasons, and measurement are expressed by means of Spanish lexical items. In many cases, even the Quechua numbers are being replaced by their Spanish equivalents. The following are examples of Spanish time expressions, etc., which were found in the corpus:

<u>Informant</u>	<u>Lexical Item</u>	<u>Context</u>
# 3	<u>día</u>	F.T.
# 7	<u>tarde</u>	R
	<u>mañana</u>	"
	<u>día</u>	"
	<u>noche</u>	"
	<u>reloj</u>	"
# 8	<u>Carnaval tiempo</u>	I
#11	<u>porte-cha-lla-ta</u>	I
	<u>jornal-lla-ta</u>	"
	<u>años-ni-yoq</u>	"
#14	<u>desde el comienzo</u>	I
	<u>mil novecientos cincuenta y</u>	"
	<u>seis-ta</u>	"
	<u>tiempo-s</u>	"
	<u>tarde</u>	F.T.
	<u>q'ala mundo entero-nta</u>	"
	(Spanish & Quechua forms used together)	"
	<u>semana</u>	"
#18	<u>primero-qa</u>	F.T.
#19	<u>rato-lla</u>	F.T.
#32	<u>semana-ntin</u>	N.T.N.
	<u>tiempo-pi</u>	"
	<u>tarde-n-qa</u>	"

#38	<u>setiembre-pi</u>	I
	<u>agosto-pi</u>	"
	<u>doce-ta</u>	"
	<u>octubre-ta</u>	"
	<u>diecinueve</u>	"
	<u>veinte</u>	"
	<u>centímetros</u>	"
#39	<u>cantidad</u>	I
#44	<u>almuerzo</u> <u>horas-ta</u>	F.T.
	<u>hora-cha</u>	"
	<u>cerca-ña-s</u>	"
	<u>pronto-cha</u>	"
	<u>metro-ta</u>	"

An important lexical category is that of trades and professions.

Some of the forms found below show definite urban influence:

<u>Informant</u>	<u>Lexical Item</u>	<u>Context</u>
# 2	<u>negocio-n-wan</u>	F.T.
# 4	<u>armas-kuna-ta-pas</u>	F.T.
# 7	<u>tienda-pi</u>	R
	<u>lechera-wan</u>	"
#11	<u>chiclería-kuna-qa</u>	I
	<u>helado-pi</u>	"
	<u>carreta-y-pas</u>	"
	<u>alfarera-kuna</u>	"
#14	<u>patron-ni-y</u>	I
	<u>sastrería-pi</u>	"
	<u>fotografía-pi</u>	"
	<u>Fabrica Lanificio Textil-pi</u>	"
	<u>empleado doméstico</u>	"
	<u>molino-kuna</u>	F.T.
	<u>maquina-kuna-pas</u>	"
	<u>horno-pas</u>	"
	<u>cuidantes</u>	"
	<u>panadería-kuna-manta</u>	"
#19	<u>jardinero-qa</u>	"
	<u>salario-wan</u>	F.T.
	<u>banco-kuna-manta-s</u>	"
	<u>caja fuerte-manta</u>	"
#20	<u>millionario</u>	"
	<u>empleado-man</u>	I
	<u>alquiler-pi</u>	"



#38	<u>pico</u> -ta	I
	<u>pala</u> -ta	"
	<u>cuna</u> -ta	"
	<u>hacha</u> -ta	"
#42	<u>chofer</u> -qa	N.T.N.
#44	<u>propaganda</u> -ta	F.T.
	<u>empleada</u> -ta-n	"
	<u>estudiante</u> <u>universitario</u>	"
	<u>negociante</u>	"
	<u>tienda</u> -cha-s	"
	<u>reata</u> -ta	"

While agriculture and herding are activities traditionally associated with the Quechua, many words have been introduced from Spanish, and indeed compete with native terms (Hoggarth 1974:92). The following terms related to agriculture were found in the corpus:

<u>Informant</u>	<u>Lexical Item</u>	<u>Context</u>
# 1	<u>huerta</u> -nku-s	F.T.
	<u>manzana</u> -kuna-ta-s	"
	<u>durazno</u>	"
	<u>fruta</u>	"
# 4	<u>toro</u>	F.T.
	<u>borrego</u> -kuna	"
	<u>corral</u> -pi	"
	<u>tropa</u>	"
# 7	<u>caballo</u> -pi	R
# 8	<u>borrego</u> -ta	I
	<u>animal</u> -paq	"
	<u>tierra</u>	"
#11	<u>gallo</u>	I
	<u>pastor</u> -pas	"
	<u>cosecha</u> -na-pi	"
	<u>algodon</u> -ta-pas	"
#14	<u>pastor</u> -kuna	F.T.
	<u>hacienda</u> -manta-n	"
	<u>trigo</u> -ta-wan	"
	<u>toro</u> -wan	"
	<u>tractor</u> -wan	"
	<u>terreno</u> -ta-s	"

#19	<u>asno</u>	F.T.
#32	<u>canchon-pi</u> <u>cosecha</u>	N.T.N. "
#38	<u>oveja</u> <u>pollo-kuna-wan</u>	N.T.N. "
#40	<u>vaca-q</u>	R
#41	<u>oveja-ta</u>	N.T.N.
#44	<u>cebada-ta</u> <u>alfalfa-ta</u>	F.T. "

Quechua has introduced Spanish lexical items to describe food and drink imported from Europe. Some words in this category can be found in other categories, e.g. manzana can be both an agricultural item as in manzana huerta (#1), or a food item as in #3's usage below. The following are Spanish food terms found in the Quechua texts in the corpus:

<u>Informant</u>	<u>Lexical Item</u>	<u>Context</u>
# 2	<u>alcohol-ta</u>	F.T.
# 3	<u>manzana-ta</u> <u>fruta-ta</u> <u>cerveza-ta</u>	F.T. " "
# 4	<u>queso-ta-n</u> <u>caldo-ta</u>	F.T. "
#11	<u>hierba-lla</u> <u>alcohol-pi-wan</u> <u>hierba-buena</u> <u>oregano</u> <u>fideos</u> <u>arroz</u>	I " " " " "
#32	<u>fiambre-ta</u> <u>trago-ta</u>	N.T.N. "
#38	<u>merienda-ta</u> <u>masa-ta</u>	I "



#40	<u>leche</u> -n-qa	R
#44	<u>caldo</u> -ta	F.T.

Several Spanish items were found in the corpus related to illness, medical practice, and anatomy. As can be seen, borrowings in this category were very few:

<u>Informant</u>	<u>Lexical Item</u>	<u>Context</u>
# 2	<u>cintura</u> -y-manta	F.T.
# 4	<u>lengua</u> -n-ta	F.T.
# 8	<u>esqueleto</u>	I
	<u>cuerpo</u> -yoq	"
	<u>hueso</u> -lla-ta-ña	"
	<u>médico</u>	"
	<u>inyección</u>	"
#11	<u>hospital</u> -lla-pi	I
	<u>hierbas</u> -kuna	"
#14	<u>dedo</u> -lla-n-ta-s	F.T.
	<u>encinta</u>	"
#19	<u>doctor</u> -kuna-ta	F.T.
	<u>lunar</u> -ni-n	"
#38	<u>hospital</u> -ta	I
	<u>vida</u> -n-ta	"
	<u>cuello</u> -n-pi	"

Hoggarth mentions that Quechua folk tales contain a larger number of Spanish loans than might be expected (Hoggarth 1974: 94). This she attributes to the Spanish origin, or at least European origin, of the stories. While accepting that many, if not most, Quechua folk tales are indeed indigenous modifications of European imports, the speech used in their telling, in this investigator's opinion, reflects the everyday speech and experience of the Quechua narrator. Many of the loans that appear in this corpus were taken from folk tales. Their

context is therefore the context in which they are used in the story, and not the context of the folk story as a whole. If this were the case, an unreasonably large number of loans seen above and below would have to be placed in the general category of 'Spanish loans occurring in the telling of folk tales' as opposed to the micro contexts and categories employed here. Nonetheless, several loans do occur which are confined, at least for the most part, to the realm of folk tale narrative, and which are seldom used in the day-to-day speech of the Informants. While some of the loans found in the category below may find their way into normal conversation, their use is more commonly restricted to the telling of folk tales:

<u>Informant</u>	<u>Lexical Item</u>	<u>Context</u>
# 1	<u>negro-ta</u>	F.T.
	<u>raton</u>	"
	<u>bandera-yoq-kama</u>	"
	<u>muñeca</u>	"
	<u>cuento</u>	"
	<u>brea-man-qa</u>	"
# 2	<u>viajero-qa</u>	F.T.
# 3	<u>palacio-n-kama</u>	F.T.
	<u>rey-pa</u>	"
	<u>veneno-ta</u>	"
	<u>oro</u>	"
# 4	<u>zorrita-man</u>	F.T.
	<u>zorrino</u>	"
	<u>español-kuna</u>	"
#14	<u>cuento-kuna-ta</u>	F.T.
	<u>espuelas-ni-yoq</u>	"
	<u>tigre-kuna</u>	"
	<u>mar-pas</u>	"
	<u>playa-q</u>	"
	<u>tarea-ta</u>	"
	<u>pato-man</u>	"
	<u>rey-pa</u>	"



#19	<u>condenado-qa</u>	F.T.
	<u>anillo-ta</u>	"
	<u>asno-ta-qa</u>	"
	<u>gusano</u>	"
#44	<u>zonzochalla-ña</u>	F.T.
	<u>revolver ni-ntin</u>	"
	<u>condor</u>	"
	<u>puente-man</u>	"
	<u>cafe terno-ntin</u>	"
	<u>corbata-ntin</u>	"

With regards to leisure activities, certain words, most of which have to do with the fiesta and modern leisure pursuits have been taken from the Spanish. In the corpus there occurred the following examples:

<u>Informant</u>	<u>Lexical Item</u>	<u>Context</u>
# 2	<u>bombo-ntin</u>	F.T.
# 4	<u>charango-lla-pi</u>	F.T.
	<u>banda-ta</u>	"
	<u>cohete-ta-pas</u>	"
	<u>invitado-kuna</u>	"
	<u>matrimonio-y-man</u>	"
#11	<u>banda y musica-ta</u>	I
	<u>cabellerías-mi</u>	"
	<u>gallo t'ipiy</u>	"
#20	<u>pelicula-pi</u>	I
#32	<u>fiesta</u>	N.T.N.
	<u>pandillada</u>	"
	<u>corrida de toros</u>	"
#38	<u>fiesta-ta</u>	I
	<u>musica-ta</u>	"
#42	<u>radio-pi-s</u>	N.T.N.
	<u>noticia-pi</u>	"
	<u>baile-pi</u>	"
#44	<u>feria-man</u>	N.T.N.

The largest category of lexical borrowing was that of household and clothing. Here there will be included kinship terms, and

terms of address imported by the Spanish, as well as items found around the home, connected with the home, or parts of the home itself. With regards to kinship terms, Quechua has its own system. The Spanish system, however, is being used with increasing frequency:

<u>Informant</u>	<u>Lexical Item</u>	<u>Context</u>
# 1	<u>horno-pi</u>	F.T.
# 2	<u>patio-man-si</u>	F.T.
	<u>señora</u>	"
	<u>cabaña-kuna-pi-qa</u>	"
	<u>pantalon-ta</u>	"
	<u>familia-yoq</u>	"
# 3	<u>lampara-cha-ta-taq</u>	F.T.
	<u>chiquito-qa</u>	"
	<u>joven-qa</u>	"
	<u>chica-qa</u>	"
	<u>esposa-n-qa</u>	"
	<u>tio-yki-n</u>	"
	<u>muchacha-ta</u>	"
	<u>mesa-pi</u>	"
	<u>baño-pi</u>	"
	<u>vaso-pi</u>	"
	<u>calamina</u>	"
	<u>techo</u>	"
	<u>niño</u>	"
# 4	<u>regalo-ta</u>	F.T.
	<u>cuarto-pi</u>	"
	<u>compadre</u>	"
	<u>amiga</u>	"
	<u>soltera</u>	"
	<u>familia</u>	"
	<u>novia</u>	"
	<u>persona</u>	"
# 7	<u>papel-qa</u>	R
	<u>sombrero-yoq</u>	"
	<u>fosforo-wan</u>	"
	<u>niña-cha-kuna</u>	"
	<u>vela</u>	"



# 8	<u>navaja</u>	I
	<u>cuchillo</u>	"
	<u>persona-n</u>	"
	<u>enemigo-y</u>	"
	<u>amigo-kuna-n</u>	"
	<u>abuelo-nchis</u>	"
	<u>gente</u>	
#11	<u>papa-y-si</u>	I
	<u>chico-kuna</u>	"
	<u>huérfano</u>	"
	<u>soltero</u>	"
	<u>esposa-y-wan</u>	"
	<u>casa alquilada-pi-raq</u>	"
	<u>padre de familia-pas</u>	"
	<u>chica-cha-y-ta</u>	"
	<u>tio-ta-qa</u>	"
	<u>criaturas</u>	"
#14	<u>papa-lla-y</u>	I
	<u>chico-raq</u>	"
	<u>barro-ta-ntin</u>	F.T.
	<u>pico-ta-ntin</u>	"
	<u>hacha-ntin</u>	"
	<u>saco</u>	"
	<u>ropa-nku-ta</u>	"
	<u>joven</u>	"
	<u>cama-pi</u>	"
	<u>vela-ta</u>	"
	<u>ropa-ntin-lla-ña</u>	"
#19	<u>papel-lla-pi</u>	F.T.
	<u>abuelo-cha-kuna-ta</u>	"
	<u>chico</u>	"
	<u>apellido-yki</u>	"
#32	<u>paja-ta</u>	N.T.N.
	<u>fierro-cha-manta-pas</u>	"
	<u>padrino-qa</u>	"
	<u>tranquilla-ta</u>	"
	<u>tela-manta</u>	"
	<u>adorno-kuna-yoq</u>	"
#38	<u>tia-yku-kuna-wan</u>	I
	<u>tio-pi-s</u>	"
	<u>radio-pis</u>	"
	<u>pico-ta</u>	"
	<u>pala-ta</u>	"
	<u>horno-pi</u>	"
	<u>chica-cha-kuna-paq</u>	"
	<u>papel-cha-wan</u>	"
	<u>hermano-y-kuna</u>	"
	<u>familia-lla-n</u>	"

#38 (con't)	<u>adobe-man</u>	I
	<u>tabla-man</u>	"
	<u>teja-manta</u>	"
	<u>canasta</u>	"
#42	<u>mamita-n-qa</u>	N.T.N.
	<u>joven-qa</u>	"
	<u>casaca-y-ta</u>	"
	<u>vestido-yoq-si</u>	"
	<u>moto-pi</u>	"
	<u>motobicicleta-pi</u>	"
	<u>chica-qa</u>	"
	<u>saco-yki-ta-qa</u>	"
	<u>fotografia-n-ta</u>	"
	<u>señorita</u>	"
#44	<u>enamorado-yki</u>	F.T.
	<u>costal-ta</u>	"
	<u>chaveta-lla-wan-ña</u>	"
	<u>cuchillo-ta</u>	"
	<u>cuero</u>	"
	<u>enemigo-n</u>	"
	<u>aguja-yki-ta</u>	"
	<u>cafe terno-ntin</u>	"
	<u>corbata-ntin-si</u>	"
	<u>hermano-y-kuna</u>	"

Some terms related to life in the pueblo joven have already been seen in relation to the political structure of the shanty town. Other items were found in the corpus which have to do particularly with city life in general, with life in the pueblo joven, or with village life in the Sierra. Among these items there were found:

<u>Informant</u>	<u>Lexical Item</u>	<u>Context</u>
# 1	<u>pueblo-pi-s</u>	F.T.
# 3	<u>calle-ta</u>	F.T.
# 4	<u>calle-ta</u> <u>feria-man</u>	F.T. "
#11	<u>barrio-pi</u> <u>mercado-pi</u> <u>plaza-pi</u> <u>lote-ta</u> <u>Cuatro de Octubre-man</u>	I " " " "



#14	<u>provincia-manta</u>	I
	<u>diferentes partes</u>	"
	<u>Sierra-pi-qa</u>	"
	<u>ciudad-pi-qa</u>	"
	<u>terreno-yku-qa</u>	"
	<u>lote-q</u>	"
	<u>terreno dueño-raq</u>	"
#19	<u>camino-pi</u>	I
#20	<u>pueblo joven-pi</u>	I
	<u>centro-pi</u>	"
#32	<u>vecino-pi-qa</u>	N.T.N.
#39	<u>manzana</u>	I
#42	<u>panteon-man</u>	N.T.N.
	<u>cementerio-pi</u>	"
	<u>calle-kuna-pi</u>	"

Very few examples of Spanish personal names or place names were found in the corpus. Quechua, for the most part, employs Spanish first names. Only the following examples were found:

<u>Informant</u>	<u>Lexical Item</u>	<u>Context</u>
# 2	<u>San Cipriano</u>	F.T.
#19	<u>Andrés</u>	F.T.
#44	<u>Majeño-kuna-qa</u>	F.T.

While most of the above examples of Spanish lexical interference fall relatively easily into the given categories, some items occur which are harder to classify and will be placed here in a single miscellaneous category. In some cases they are terms for abstract concepts such as emotions. Others are terms for natural elements. Some are interjections used in story telling, while others are compounds or Spanish adjectives:

<u>Informant</u>	<u>Lexical Item</u>	<u>Context</u>
# 1	<u>caso-lla-n-ta</u>	F.T.
	<u>carajo</u>	"
	<u>fuerza</u>	"
	<u>lado</u>	"
# 2	<u>carajo</u>	F.T.
	<u>loma</u>	"
# 3	<u>lado-ta-taq</u>	F.T.
	<u>sitio-nchis-man</u>	"
	<u>carajo</u>	"
	<u>lado</u>	"
	<u>campo-ta</u>	"
# 4	<u>cosa-ta</u>	F.T.
	<u>cansada-lla-ña-n</u>	"
	<u>luna-wan</u>	"
	<u>cierto-chu</u>	"
	<u>guerra-pi-qa</u>	"
	<u>cualquiera-pis</u>	"
	<u>limpio-lla-ña-n</u>	"
	<u>sol</u>	"
	<u>pobrecito</u>	"
	<u>distinguido</u>	"
	<u>quebrada-kuna-man</u>	"
# 7	<u>carajo</u>	R
	<u>caballero</u>	"
# 8	<u>cosa</u>	I
#11	<u>pato-n-ta</u>	I
	<u>lado-n-ta</u>	"
	<u>montaña-pi</u>	"
	<u>cuestión-ta-qa</u>	"
	<u>lado-manta</u>	"
	<u>envidioso</u>	"
#14	<u>castellano-ta</u>	I
	<u>pero lo único</u>	"
	<u>cielo-kama</u>	F.T.
	<u>golpe-wan</u>	"
	<u>presentable</u>	"
	<u>contento</u>	"
	<u>caramba</u>	"
	<u>desde</u>	"
	<u>al frente</u>	"
	<u>esperanza</u>	"
	<u>azul</u>	"
	<u>matorral</u>	"
	<u>laguna</u>	"
	<u>traposa-lla-ta-n</u>	"



#18	<u>canto</u> -pi	R
	<u>balsa</u> -cha	"
	<u>gordo</u> -s	"
	<u>flaco</u> -s	"
	<u>velludo</u>	"
	<u>rio</u>	"
#19	<u>lado</u> -pi	F.T.
	<u>carajo</u>	"
	<u>barranco</u>	"
#32	<u>punta</u> -manta	F.T.
	<u>canto</u> -manta	"
	<u>sitio</u> -paq	N.T.N.
	<u>parte</u> -manta	"
	<u>viento</u>	"
#38	<u>genio</u>	I
	<u>alto</u> -lla-n-ta	N.T.N.
	<u>vuelta</u> -ta-ña	"
	<u>igual</u> a-ta	"
#40	<u>azulejo</u>	R
	<u>azul</u>	"
	<u>arena</u>	"
#41	<u>flores</u> -kuna-wan	N.T.N.
	<u>monte</u> -pi	"
	<u>flaca</u> -lla-n-ña	"
	<u>sapo</u> -ta	"
#44	<u>guapo</u> -ma	F.T.
	<u>cierto</u> -puni-ya	"
	<u>hijo</u>	"
	<u>a la fuerza</u>	"
	<u>mierda</u>	"
	<u>hola</u>	"
	<u>confianza</u> -ta-na	"

That Quechua should increasingly replace many of its own lexical items with Spanish equivalents, such as has been seen above is attested to not only by Hoggarth, but also by Albo. As can be seen, it is in the lexicon that most change occurs:

. . . la dinámica es siempre la de ir sustituyendo constantemente rasgos propios del quechua por otros propios del castellano incluso en el quechua. Esto sucede en la fonología, y en la gramática, pero se manifiesta con mayor fuerza aún en el vocabulario,

donde es más facil una opción consciente y donde  
entra todo el universo socio-cultural del hablante.  
(Albo' 1974:233)

### Grammatical Interference

Changes are not confined to the lexical area, however, and as Albo' admits above, there also occur changes in the grammar and phonology. The principal grammatical change already seen in the case of Sierra Quechua, was the transfer of bound morphemes, of Spanish verb stems. In this corpus, numerous examples of this occurred. Perhaps it is in this area in which the greatest difference between Sierra and city Quechua can be seen, i.e. there may be an indication of an increase in the use of Spanish verb stems among city Quechuas. Again, however, it is difficult to ascertain how much these terms are part of general speech, or merely features of the speech of individual speakers. Although not every transcribed text was examined, a total of 154 Spanish verb stems were found in this corpus. 119 of these were -ar verbs, 17 -er verbs, and 18 -ir verbs. This sample, of course, was taken from a much smaller group of Informants than was Hoggarth's. The following are the Spanish verb stems found in the corpus, together with Quechua suffixation, and listed according to Informant. It should be pointed out that when taken into Quechua, some of the verb stems, especially -er verbs, are modified phonemically. The /e/ of the stem being changed to /i/, e.g. comprend/i/ni instead of comprend/e/ni. Here, however, the Spanish stem has been kept without modification:



Informant #1

acaba-n-puni-s  
accepta-lla-n-taq  
acerca-ya-mu-sha-n-si  
aguanta-n-chu  
carga-ri-nki  
cocce-ya-ka-pu-n  
conta-n-chu  
cree-yku-sha-n  
destroza-sqa  
engaña-yku-lla-n-taq  
entende-n-pas  
gana-chi-ku-n  
libra-ku-nki-chu  
malogra-yku-pu-n  
medi-yku-ku-y  
parla-yu-nku  
pasa-yman-taq  
pega-ra-ka-pu-lla-n-taq  
perde-n-puni-s  
renega-ru-ku-n-si  
salta-yku-sha-n  
sostene-sha-ni

Informant #2

cambia-mu-na-n-paq  
carga-yu-ku-spa  
enamora-ku-n-si  
engaña-yku-n  
imagina-rqo-ku-sqa  
libra-ku-ni-cha  
occuri-rqo-n  
queda-pu-n  
rendi-q-qa-manta  
reza-sha-n-si  
salta-yku-n  
silba-ri-n-si  
toma-yku-n  
vela-ku-sha-q-ta

Informant #3

alcanza-mu-wa-y  
apura-y  
baña-ku-q  
cambia-ru-ku-sunchis  
contesta-n  
fusila-ychis-chu  
maneja-na-n-ta  
parece-chi-y  
pasea-ku-q  
presenta-ku-n  
recoge-nki-chu  
toma-rqo-chi-nki

Informant #4

adora-naku-nku  
aplaudi-sqanku  
cambia-yu-ku-spa  
causa-ykichis  
comprende-wan-chu  
convence-n-mi  
cree-rqa  
distingui-ku-n-chu  
enamora-ku-ni  
engaña-wa-sha-n-mi  
ensena-sha-n-ña  
estira-spa  
lee-y-ta  
parla-ku-sha-nku  
pedi-mu-wa-chun  
pensa-y-chu  
prepara-yku-wa-nqa  
queda-mu-nki  
rabia-sqa  
sufri-ku-spa  
tropa-ru-ku-n  
visita-mu-sha-yki

Informant #7

enamora-ka-mu-sunki  
renega-chi-wa-nki-chu  
silla-ri-q

Informant #8

aconseja-nchis  
compone-n  
crea-lla-nku-taq  
enterra-pu-sqa  
escarba-rqo-nku  
estudia-n  
festeja-yku  
paga-nchis  
parla-chi-nku  
pasa-nqa  
pelea-ra-ku-nqa  
servi-ni

Informant #11

brujea-n  
debuta-q-kuna  
hervi-chi-spa  
festeja-yku  
firma-sha-n-ña  
lee-q-paq-chu  
malogra-ku-n  
parla-ra-ni  
pedi-nqaku  
planta-yku-nku  
practica-ni  
queda-n  
reza-spa-lla



Informant #11 (con't) silla-yku-spa  
sufri-ni  
trabaja-ku-yku  
vende-sha-nku

Informant #14 acerta-n  
aconseja-ri-n  
alcanza-na-n-kama  
alista-ra-mu-saq  
apunta-n  
ara-ru-nki  
arranca-ri-na-nku  
baña-ku-q  
carga-ri-spa  
comienza-n  
consegui-ra-yku-pu-ni-chu  
cosecha-sha-yku-na  
cuenta-sha-ykichis  
cumpli-nki  
descansa-y  
entrega-ra-wa-nku-ra-q-chu  
estudia-q  
falta-wa-sha-nku  
grita-naya-yku-cha-n-taq  
gusta-ykuman  
medi-yu-yki-ya'  
nada-sha-n  
nega-ta-mu-nki  
ofrece-n  
olvida-sqa  
parla-pu-ni  
pastea-q-kuna  
perde-sha-n  
perfecciona-ka-pu-ni  
prende-yu-ru-spa  
presenta-ra-ka-mu-n  
queda-pu-n  
radica-pu-ni  
recibi-wa-na-nchis-paq  
rega-ru-nki  
respalda-wa-na-nku-paq  
seguí-n-na-chu  
toca-yu-n  
trabaja-ra-nku  
uniforma-ra-chi-n  
vende-sa-yki  
vesti-ku-na-n-paq

Informant #18 aguanta-nman  
crece-ra-pu-sqa  
pasa-y-ta  
queda-q

<u>Informant #19</u>	<u>confesa-ra-ka-mu-nki</u> <u>contrata-n</u> <u>conversa-sun</u> <u>converti-ra-ku-nqa</u> <u>cumpli-ku-nqa</u> <u>gana-ru-n-ña-taq</u> <u>junta-ra-mun</u> <u>parla-ri-yku-sun</u> <u>recoge-ra-ka-pun</u>
<u>Informant #32</u>	<u>alista-n</u> <u>almorza-chi-q</u> <u>amista-ya-ra-naku-spa</u> <u>capea-n</u> <u>cosecha-ru-nku</u> <u>deposita-nku</u> <u>invita-spa-taq</u> <u>montona-ru-nku</u> <u>paga-nku</u> <u>sacudi-spa-taq</u> <u>sembra-nku</u> <u>toma-chi-nku</u>
<u>Informant #36</u>	<u>compaña-yku-sunchis</u> <u>pasea-ra-ka-mu-sun</u> <u>vence-wa-nki</u>
<u>Informant #38</u>	<u>cumpli-sqa</u> <u>estudia-n</u> <u>masa-nku</u> <u>medi-nku</u> <u>merenda-nku</u> <u>necesita-n</u> <u>servi-naku-nku</u> <u>toma-nku</u>
<u>Informant #39</u>	<u>compone-nqa</u> <u>destina-sqa</u> <u>eligi-sha-ku-q</u> <u>forma-n</u>
<u>Informant #40</u>	<u>entende-nki</u>
<u>Informant #41</u>	<u>aburri-ku-wa-qti-n</u> <u>consulta-na-n-paq</u> <u>queda-n</u> <u>quita-ra-pu-waq</u> <u>vende-ra-n</u>
<u>Informant #42</u>	<u>ataca-ru-sqa</u> <u>baja-ru-sqa</u> <u>contesta-npu-sqa</u> <u>escucha-ku-mu-n</u>



<u>Informant #42</u> (con't)	<u>maneja-spa</u> <u>narra-sqa</u> <u>parti-mu-sqa</u> <u>pasa-rqa-n</u> <u>pedi-yka-pu-n</u> <u>presta-sqa</u>
<u>Informant #43</u>	<u>comenza-sha-ni</u> <u>estudia-sha-n</u> <u>seguir-rqa-ni</u>
<u>Informant #44</u>	<u>adivina-pu-ykiman-mi</u> <u>alista-ku-lla-n-taq</u> <u>anima-ra-ya-mu-sunchis</u> <u>carga-ri-yka-pu-ychis</u> <u>denuncia-mu-sa-yki</u> <u>desaparece-ru-n</u> <u>despedi-yu-ku-y</u> <u>detende-ya-pu-sqa-ku</u> <u>dispara-saq</u> <u>emplea-yu-yman</u> <u>encarga-ku-wa-y</u> <u>envidia-ku-wan</u> <u>equivoca-ra-ku-lla-sqa-nku</u> <u>falta-sha-n</u> <u>fastidia-ku-na-wa-n-paq</u> <u>fracasa-ya-pu-sqa</u> <u>gana-wa-sunman</u> <u>idea-ku-nki</u> <u>imagina-ku-sha-n</u> <u>invita-chun</u> <u>mantene-wa-n</u> <u>medi-yu-ku-spa</u> <u>paga-yu-lla-nku-taq</u> <u>pensa-pu-n</u> <u>porta-ku-n</u> <u>prepara-pu-wa-ychis</u> <u>prospera-sqa-n-ta</u> <u>queja-ra-ka-mu-sunchis-cha</u> <u>renega-sqa-lla-na</u> <u>señala-sha-n-si</u> <u>toca-paya-yu-n</u> <u>traiciona-y-ta</u> <u>vale-n</u> <u>vende-ra-pu-sa-yki</u>

Referring to the transfer of inflectional suffixes, Hoggarth says that none are transferred from Spanish to Quechua, and that derivational suffixes such as diminutives are only used with Spanish loans, or with Quechua forms integrated into

Spanish (Hoggarth 1974:103). In this corpus, while there were no instances of inflectional suffixes being transferred, there were several isolated instances of the use of Spanish diminutives, even with Quechua lexical items, e.g. machulita, 'little old man', from Quechua machula + Spanish diminutive -ita, and allqitollas, 'just a little dog', from Quechua allqo + Spanish diminutive -ito, Quechua delimitative particle -lla and narrative particle -s. This, however, may prove to be an example of Bolivian dialectal influence. Bills, Vallejo and Troike show examples of Quechua items using Spanish diminutives (Bills, Vallejo and Troike 1971:142). Informant #4 uses the Spanish diminutive with the Quechua temporal adverb kunan, e.g. kun-ita-lla-n-puni, 'definitely right this very instant'. Again, however, this may be a feature which is more noticeable in dialectal areas closer to Bolivia, i.e. Puno, and Arequipa.

With regards to the transfer of syntactic patterns, this appears to be more a characteristic of the Quechua of individuals who have learned it as a second language. Unlike individuals with Quechua as a first language, they do not follow the rule of placing the verb at the end of the sentence (Hoggarth 1974:103). In this corpus, as has been mentioned, most of the Informants learned Quechua as a first language. In spite of this, closer examination would probably reveal quite a few instances of Informants placing the verb in other than the final position, i.e. instances of syntactical interference from Spanish. A few examples appear below:



- Informant #1      Huk llaqtapis TIYASQAKU huk abuelitawan machulitawan.  
 "In a town there lived an old man and woman."
- Informant #8      Anchaypi ENTREGARQON papelta hasta hujñataq chaymantaga puripun corriendo.  
 "There he'd deliver the letter, and then run off again."
- Informant #19      Ñoga QOSAYKI huk poderta.  
 "I'll give you a power."
- Chaypi TIYAN Andrés como millionario.  
 "And there Andres lived like a millionaire."
- Informant #44      Ñoga DENUNCIAMUSAYKI municipalman.  
 "I'll report you to the police."
- Informant #4      Huk corralpi KANMI askha borregokuna.  
 "In a corral there are a lot of lambs."
- Kay wawaymi KASARAKUN khayna p'unchau.  
 "This daughter of mine got married yesterday."
- Informant #32      Huk laguna patapi TARISQAKU iskay torota puñushaqta.  
 "They found two bulls sleeping on a lake."
- Informant #11      Ñogaykuqa HANPINAKUYKU hospitalllapi kaypiqa.  
 "Here we just go to the hospital to get cured."
- Informant #14      Huk joven maqt'aga MANA TARIYKUSQACHU huk p'asña.  
 "A young man couldn't find a girlfriend."
- Chay caballero TAPUYUN chay runachata.  
 "The gentleman asked the little man."
- Pato NADAYUSHAN qochapi.  
 "The duck was swimming in the lake."
- Manan gobierno ENTREGARAWANKURAQCHU definitivamente terrenota.  
 "The government hasn't definitively given us the land yet."
- Informant #42      Hina motopi HAMUSQA huk joven.  
 "A young man came along on a motorbike."

On the whole, however, such usage occurs only rarely, with the regular Quechua syntactic patterns being maintained.

Examples of literal translation from Spanish into Quechua, while a feature of the speech of those speakers for whom Quechua is a second language, were not found in this corpus. One feature which did occur was the use of constructions with hasta. It is commonly used in conjunction with the Quechua equivalent -kama, but some Informants in this corpus omit the Quechua morpheme:

<u>Informant #1</u>	<u>hasta p'unchayyamun</u>	"until daybreak"
	<u>maskhan hasta tarin</u>	"He looked for him until he found him."
	<u>hasta atoqman</u>	"as far as the fox"
<u>Informant #8</u>	<u>hasta que hornopi hina</u>	"until like in an oven"
	<u>hasta huk leguaman chayan</u>	"until he reached another league"
	<u>hasta maymanpas</u>	"to anywhere"
<u>Informant #14</u>	<u>hasta paqarin</u>	"until tomorrow"
	<u>trabajani hasta kunankama</u>	"I've worked there until now"
	<u>hasta ultimotaraq</u>	"from now on"
<u>Informant #11</u>	<u>hasta cielokama</u>	"up to the sky"
	<u>hasta kayman hamusqay</u>	"until I came here"

No examples were found using quizás redundantly with the Quechua particle -cha, as cited by Hoggarth (Hoggarth 1974:104-5).

Other examples of grammatical interference from Spanish, again which varied from Informant to Informant were found in the corpus, e.g. ni . . . ni, was used in conjunction with the Quechua particle -pas:

<u>Informant #19</u>	<u>ni imapas ni runapas</u> <u>kanchu?</u>	"Isn't there anything or anybody there?"
<u>Informant #3</u>	<u>ni manzanata ni t'antata</u>	"neither the apples nor the bread"



Pero is often used as a conjunction either by itself, or with the Quechua equivalent ichaqa:

Informant #2      pero chaypi kasqa San Cipriano libro  
                          "but the book of St. Cyprian was there"

Informant #3      pero ama, waykuspaqa, amapuni recognenkichu  
                          "but when you go in, on no account pick up"

Porque is also used quite frequently in place of Quechua constructions with the particle -rayku:

Informant #2      porque punapiqa riki wasikuna karu karullapi  
                          "because the houses on the high plains are very far apart"

Informant #14      porque chaypi trabajo siguroñan kanka waqpi  
                          "because work will now be secure there"

All in all, much of the material, especially in the folk tales, is interspersed with Spanish conjunctions, e.g. entonces often replaces or is used as well as the Quechua conjunction hinaspa. Muletillas like bueno and pués are used frequently, as is the phrase ya está. Spanish adverbs and adverbial phrases are also common, e.g. antes-qa, otra vez, ahí mismo, etc. Breaks in narrative when the narrator is not quite sure how to continue will be filled with este as well as the Quechua particle na, which is declinable, e.g. na-man, na-manta, na-ta, etc. Desde, in one instance, was used in much the same way as the redundant hasta, in this case in conjunction with the Quechua particle -manta, 'from':

Informant #14      desde huch'uy pajaritokunamanta hatun  
                          pajarokunakama  
                          "from little birds up to big birds"

Such usage, however, should not be taken as being a standard

feature of the Quechua spoken in the city (or, for that matter, in the Sierra). They are features of the speech of individuals, and, for the most part, sporadic. On the other hand, however, it may well be the case that individuals are incorporating more Spanish constructions into their speech in the city. As far as grammatical and syntactical interference is concerned, the most striking example of interference from Spanish (as in the Sierra) is the transfer of bound morphemes, of Spanish verb stems. In the city this may show an increase over such incidence in the Sierra, a fact which together with large scale use of Spanish lexical items gives the impression that city Quechua is more hispanized than it really is, for in reality, virtually all of the main features of Quechua grammatical structure are maintained.

#### Phonemic Interference

In the area of phonology, all Quechua phonemic distinctions were kept, thus Informants distinguished between the plain, aspirated and glottal stops, and between velar and post velar stops which so characterize the Quechua of Cuzco and Puno:

	<u>Labial</u>	<u>Alveolar</u>	<u>Velar</u>	<u>Post-Velar</u>
<u>Plain</u> <u>Stops</u>	p	t	k	q
<u>Aspirated</u> <u>Stops</u>	ph	th	kh	qh
<u>Glottal</u> <u>Stops</u>	p'	t'	k'	q'

Spanish phonemes have entered the speech of Quechua Informants in the city, but only in loans words from Spanish. Depending



on the level of bilingualism of the Informant, Spanish phonemes were modified to the Quechua system at the lower end of the spectrum. Thus, in the case of the vowels, final /o/ and final /e/ before Quechua suffixation frequently closed to /u/ and /i/ respectively, e.g. carg/u/yoq, entend/i/nki. With the consonants, voiced plosives /b/ and /d/ sometimes became devoiced to /p/ and /t/, with the voiced fricative /v/ being devoiced to /w/. On the whole, however, increased knowledge of Spanish resulted in a tendency to maintain Spanish phonemes in loans when speaking Quechua in Arequipa. Most examples of modification to the Quechua phonemic system occurred with the vowels and not with the consonants.

In answer to the first question asked at the beginning of this chapter regarding language shift, there seems to be little doubt that in Arequipa, as in Lima, there has been a shift from Quechua to Spanish. On the positive side, however, it was also seen that the old pressures against Quechua so prevalent in the Sierra, are not to be found, or at least, are diminished in the city. The Quechua in the city, officially at least, is no longer made to feel as ashamed of his mother tongue. While Spanish is needed at work and in the inner city, Quechua can be used among friends, relatives and townsmen in the mainly Quechua community of the pueblo joven. Pressure is on children, however, to learn Spanish for social and educational advancement, and this may prove to be the main factor preventing Quechua maintenance in the city. Educational opportunities, however, are still lacking, and the process

of abandonment of Quechua by post first-generation immigrants, if it happens, will most likely be slow. For the moment, continued migration from the Sierra continues to pump fresh blood into the establishment of a large bilingual Quechua community in Arequipa. The larger the community, the better the chances are for some degree of language maintainance. Small groups tend to be assimilated rapidly, but large groups supply more pressure towards cultural and linguistic maintainance (cf. Mexican and Puerto Rican groups in large metropolises such as Los Angeles, and Chicago).

Language and cultural maintainance, however, does not necessarily imply linguistic and cultural purity. Quechua language as found in this corpus bears all the hallmarks of the Quechua of bilinguals in the Sierra for whom it is a first language. It shows a continuation of the trends found to be occurring through Quechua/Spanish contact in the Sierra. This, in itself, is not sufficient to say there is such an entity as a city Quechua dialect. On the other hand, the Quechua of the Informants in this corpus shows a marked tendency to borrow from Spanish. Lexical interference from Spanish is prevalent, and possibly has a higher incidence of occurrence than in the Sierra, even in traditional areas such as story telling. In the grammatical area, the most important example of interference was the use of Spanish verb stems, i.e. the transfer of bound morphemes. This definitely would appear to be much more common than is the case in the Sierra. Examples of other grammatical and syntactical interference



such as have been found in Sierra Quechua were also found in the Quechua of city Informants, but on the whole, these were relatively rare.

Lastly, Quechua phonology in the city is no different from that in the Sierra, and shows virtually no change with all phonemic distinctions being maintained. Spanish has had its effect in this area only in the case of phonemes occurring in Spanish loans. Here voiced plosives and other phonemes alien to the Quechua inventory are used by Quechua speakers in their Quechua speech. Some modification to the Quechua phonemic system occurs, but there is an increased tendency among city Informants to maintain the Spanish phonemes, presumably as they have acquired a higher proficiency in Spanish.

The Quechua in the city, then, would appear not to differ significantly from the Quechua of bilinguals in the Sierra for whom it is a first language. Changes occur, certainly, but they are changes which are the result of general Spanish/Quechua contact and not of contact specifically related to the city. Changes that have already begun in the Sierra are merely continued in the city.

## CHAPTER VII

### SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS: THE FORMATION OF AN URBAN QUECHUA SUB-CULTURE

This chapter will endeavour to bring together all of the major issues which have been discussed in the preceeding chapters regarding the effects migration and urbanization have had on Quechua culture as represented by the language itself, folk tale, folk song, riddle, non-traditional narrative, and Quechua religious belief and practice. Another important consideration will be the formation of an urban Quechua sub-culture resulting from the influx of immigrants from the Sierra who have brought their traditions with them and who, to varying degrees, continue these traditions in the pueblos jóvenes of Arequipa.

#### The Effects of Urbanization and Migration on Quechua Culture and Language

Initially in this study, it was seen that Informants who have taken the step of moving to the city have been ready and willing to adopt the more material aspects of the Spanish sector of Peruvian society--clothes, jobs, education, etc. While the old agricultural or pastoral community has been left behind, the Quechua immigrants have established a new urban community separate and distinct from the city at large,



although relying on the city for its livelihood.

The immigrant has found that old traditional attributes are still necessary to deal with urban problems. For the community to progress, community effort was required. Thus, community solidarity could be observed in the construction of a road into Cuatro de Octubre with everybody being expected to participate or risk a fine. The urban Quechua community was also seen to have political organization which in turn was linked to other Quechua communities throughout the city.

The urban Quechua, then, in his dress, his employment, where he sends his children to school, etc., is truly urbanized, and by his own volition, but yet he still lives in a community, i.e. the pueblo joven, which for the most part is Quechua, albeit set in an urban environment.

Under the veneer of having become urbanized, however, the Quechua immigrant maintains many of his traditions. It was seen that the more symbolic aspects of Quechua culture have been less ready to disappear. The folk tale, for instance, although on the surface seemingly irrelevant to an urban lifestyle, still continues to survive for the present, in the pueblos jóvenes. The 32 stories contained in Appendix I are clearly evidence of this. Indeed, they were seen to have considerably more relevance and import than at first sight. The folk tale's continued survival, however, will depend on how quickly the forces of education and literacy penetrate the pueblo joven. For the moment, its continuance relies on first generation immigrants and waves of subsequent immigrants.

Nonetheless, it serves to give the pueblo joven the stamp of being Quechua, and there is no evidence to suggest that there was any conscious effort on the part of the inhabitants to reject this traditional aspect of Quechua culture as being old-fashioned or as a symbol of inferiority--quite the opposite. The pueblos jóvenes, for some time to come, will continue to be a valuable source for the collection of Quechua folk tales.

The survival of Quechua cultural roots in the pueblo joven was seen not only in the case of the folk tale, but also in the number of people who could relate riddles in Quechua (36 riddles from 25% of the Informants), or sing and play songs (24 songs recorded from 28% of the Informants). The impression given was that the pueblo joven was the venue for a folk culture that was still vibrant, at least for the time being. On the other hand, however, there were indications that where once music was something to be actively participated in, it was becoming more of a passive activity, with people going to musical spectacles rather than participating in the music, song and dance themselves. Nevertheless, music was a good indication of where the immigrants' cultural affinities lay. Even among those Informants whose ability to provide any traditional material was limited or non-existent, indications of loyalty to Quechua culture were seen in the non-traditional narrative in which the Informants would talk about some aspect of life in the Sierra.



With regards to Quechua traditional religious practice, Informants provided evidence to suggest that this too continues in the city, although many of the areas where it holds greatest relevance do not feature in the urban setting. Consequently, its manifestations are much more restricted than is the case in the Sierra. Nonetheless, people still go to traditional curanderos and continue to 'pay the earth', whilst others were aware of traditional beliefs although themselves expressing an increased scepticism towards them. In some cases, the narratives about aspects of Quechua religion could be classed as examples of once active belief having been transformed into folklore.

The language of the Quechuas continues to survive in the city, although indications are that there has been a strong shift to Spanish. It was seen, however, that the use of Spanish decreases the closer one gets to community and family, where the possibility and likelihood of Quechua being used is increased. The type of Quechua spoken in the city features an increased use of Spanish lexemes, both modified and unmodified, with an increase in the transfer of bound morphemes, mainly Spanish verb stems. Some other less striking examples of grammatical and syntactical interference were seen, while phonologically, there has been no significant change other than in the use of Spanish phonemes in the context of Spanish loans, as opposed to modification to the Quechua system. City Quechua essentially bears all the traits of the Quechua of subordinate and coordinate bilinguals in the Sierra for whom

Quechua is a first language. Such linguistic change as has taken place cannot be attributed to the move to the city, as such features have already been observed in the Sierra.

#### The Formation of an Urban Quechua Sub-culture

In summary, what is being seen in the case of Quechua migration to cities such as Arequipa is the establishment of an urban Quechua sub-culture. It is urban because the immigrants have taken the conscious step of moving to the city in search of an improvement in their lifestyle based on better jobs, better educational opportunities, etc. By living and working in the city, the Quechua immigrant breaks the bond with the past, with the land, becomes part of the city scene, in short, becomes 'urbanized'. The Quechua immigrant, however, only becomes urbanized on the surface. Under the outward trappings of urbanization, there still lies a strong loyalty towards his linguistic and cultural origins. The material taped in Arequipa and contained throughout the text of this study, and in the Appendices is evidence of this. In the Sierra, it was a matter of shame to be Quechua and the individual for years bore the brunt of mestizo prejudice towards him which lead him to reject, in many instances, his own cultural values. The move to the city has essentially taken the Quechua immigrant away from the hostile situation found in the Sierra, and has created an environment in which the Quechua urbanizador can both be a 'success' and yet still maintain loyalty to his own cultural and linguistic origins.



Positive reinforcement is supplied by several factors. The pueblo joven itself, for instance, is really, in many ways, a transfer of a whole Quechua community from a rural setting to an urban setting. Together with continued large-scale immigration from the Sierra, it helps to create a unity in order not only to get full benefit from the city, but also to maintain traditions by keeping all the Quechua immigrants together and maintaining a sense of community. Positive support from the government in the form of officialization of the Quechua language also created a new cultural awareness among Quechuas both in the city and in the Sierra, and a consequent realization of the value of their traditions. No longer were they seen as something inferior, as something to hide.

Change, cultural and linguistic, is inevitable, and it would be erroneous to suggest that Quechua culture is surviving intact in the pueblos jóvenes of Arequipa and other large Peruvian cities. On the other hand, inhabitants of pueblos jóvenes like Cuatro de Octubre and La Tomilla, as witnessed in this study, while striving to improve their lives under what are often harsh and difficult conditions, seem to be maintaining many aspects of their culture, a culture which has weathered many challenges in the past, and which is now facing its greatest challenge yet--the forces of modernization and industrialization. The immigrants, of which the Informants in this corpus are typical examples, are truly both urban and Quechua. They belong to a new expanding entity on the Peruvian scene--an urban Quechua sub-culture. It is a sub-culture which

looks to the city for material support, but which culturally maintains a strong Quechua identity. It is essentially an urban folk society. History has shown the resilience of Quechua culture, and there is every indication that the Quechuas of today, as represented by those who have moved to the cities, will be able to enter the modern world without the total destruction of their cultural values. One might go so far as to say that it is they who are changing the face of Peruvian cities like Arequipa, more than that the cities are changing them.



A P P E N D I C E S

# APPENDIX I - FOLK TALES

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Story 1: The Traveller and the Condenado

- 1 Huk viajeros purisqa cargayukuspa negocionwan  
punata, puna llaqtata. Chay puna llaqtapi  
negociota apan riki: askha alcoholta, koka-  
5 kunata, tukuy imata paqocha willmawan cambia-  
munanpaq.
- Hinataqsi viajeroqa sapallan chinka-  
ykushan. Hina hukta yargarqon hina qaramuyta  
mikhuykuyta munan. Qaramuntaq mikhuykunanpaqtaq  
riki samaykun payqa. Na, paskarparin qaramuy  
10 unkhunanta, sumaqta chaypi aychitanta llalliykun  
pacha riki. Hina allqo sonqo allqitollas chaypi  
phawaq qatin hina. "Allqori, carajo!" nispas  
rumita hoqarirqan. Chanqan riki allqotaqa rumita.  
Chanqaruqtin, chinkarinsi allqoqa. Hinataqsi,  
15 hinaqa, chhaynaqa chaymantaqa ripunsi.  
Chinkaripullantaq wakmanta cargarqakapun ripullantaq  
hina.
- Tardeyarispaga, huk sipassi occurirqon  
ñaupaganta. Liso runas ya karqan. Silbarinsi,  
20 "Whee wheeyu, whee wheeyu!" nispa. Silbarin  
riki sipastaqa riki puka mayt'u k'antikuspas  
riki, sipasqa chinkaykun riki.
- Hinaspa enamorakunsi sipasmantaqa, hina  
enamorakun. Munay sipasyari, munaysi, hina  
25 enamorakun. Na, huk cabañakunapis alojakuyta  
yachaq kaq hina chay cabañakunapiqa runa tiyaqsi  
ya. Pero pay liso kaymanta mana chay cabañaman  
chayapunchu, sino wak wakta cabañaman chayaykapun  
manas ya chay wakta cabañapiqa runapas imapas  
30 kanchu.
- "Chaywanpuni chay sipaswan puñurqosaq!"  
nispa. Hinaqa viajeroqa chayaykun sipasnintin  
chay cabañata cargararqokun. Yastá puñunanta  
allichakun puñuykunanpaq puñuykunsi.
- 35 Hina sipasqa ninsi, "Q'alatapuni  
p'achaykitapas qechuykukunki ñoqawan puñuykuna-  
ykipaqqa," nispas nin.
- Hinaqa qechurukun pantalonta na mudanan...  
mudanayoqsi mudanallayoqsi naqa viajeroqa  
40 puñuykun sipaswanqa. Hinataqsi tuta hatarinsi  
ari sipaspa aychan hina khutus kasqa, pasaq,  
chiripuni, khutu! Hina yastá imaginarqokusqa  
hinaqa, "Nanarqachiwanki!" nispa tuta hatarikuq  
hina.
- 45 "Ñaqa p'unchay chanqaruwasqaykita  
nanarqochiwanki!" nispas sipasqa.



Yastá chaywan imagarikun kunpacha  
naqa viajeroqa lloqsirqon hawata yastá.

50 "Condenado kayqa, mikhullawanqapunichá!" nispas  
nin. Yastá hina sipastaqa engañaykun hina.

"Hisparakamusaq, wataykurqoway chunpi watullaywan  
kay cinturaymanta chayllamanta hap'imushawanki,  
noqa hisparirqakamusaq," nispas lloqsirqon hawata.

55 Hinaspataqsi hinaqa viajeroqa imanantaq  
chunpi watunmanta wataykun hina waskha tullwansi  
hukta yapaykurin hina haqayneqpi hina ichhumansi  
puna ichhumansi watarqon chaytaqa.

60 Hina, "Ñachu, ñachu, ñachu tukunkiña  
hispayta, ñachu tukunkiña hispayta?" nispas  
condenadoqa chutashan chay ukhumanta.

Hinataqsi viajeroqa pasan pasaqtas escapakapun  
nnn...tas yaqta huk cabañaman chayanankama runachus  
maypi tiyanman runakuna chay runakunaman chayanankamas.

65 Hinaqa velas k'anchamushasqa huk  
cabañamanta. Hinas chayta saltaykun q'ala p'acha,  
mana pantalongo, nada, q'ala. Q'alatito  
kashan. Hina chaypiqa wañuqllamantaqsi tukun  
huk almas chaypi velakushasqa. Chay k'uchupi  
alman velakushasqa pero allqokunaqa imas kasqa  
70 ichaqa.

Hinaqa alma velakushaqtaq mancharikapullantaq  
chayta riki. "Maymantaq kaytaq haykurqamullanitaq?"  
nispa viajeroqa. "Mayman, kayman haykurqapullanitaq"  
nispas yastá manchariykapun astawan ya. Hinaqa pero  
75 chaypi kasqa San Cipriano libro, santokuna,  
anchaykuna qhawaqkuna. "Mana begal almapuni hayqa,"  
nispas nin chay almaq p'achantas hoqarisparin  
pantalonta, sacota, punchota. Ch'utiyukun hina  
chaypi velan almata. Velan, pero mana familiayoq  
80 chaypi almata k'anchaykachipusqaku porque punapiqa  
riki karu karullapi wasikuna; karu karullapi chayqa  
pitaq velaysinman tuta hinaqa ripun riki wakta  
may consiguin hinaqa nan.

85 Hinaqa chaypi velapun almata, hina kуска  
tuta horasñas kashan. "Kaypiqa librakunichá,"  
nispa, allqoqa ichaqa wapu phinas kasqa. Hinaqa  
p'achayukun; alcohol puronsi kaq, chayta tomaykun.  
Hina hoqarisqa kashan, rezashansi ari payqa, hinaqa...  
rezakuqsi ichaqa karqan.

90 Hinataqsi, nan, kуска tuta horastas,  
"Tun tun, tun tun, tun tun, tun tun," nispa  
pusamorina tocaq hinas hamushan bombontin chaypi.  
Kayllapiñas, kayllapiñas, kayllapiñas, kayllapiñas,  
yastá kayllapiñas.

95 "Imataq chayqa, imataq chayqa?" Qhawashan  
allqokunas yanqa punkumanta saqsa hap'iykun,  
phiñapunis ari kasqa.

Hinataqsi, nan, viajeroqa qhawarin. Yastá  
patiomansi chayaykamun pusamorina. Entonces



- 100 kunan qhawaykun, qhawaykun hawata. Hina hukta mula uyayoq runatas qhawaykamullantaq. Allqo uyayoq runallataqsi qhawaykamun rendiqqamanta payqa kinsa palqawansi paqtapakushan manta tukuynawan San Cipriano librotas rezashan.
- 105 Hinaspa chayqa paqtapakun wasimanta. Hinaqa qhawarillantaqsi, saqra runa tusurankus chaypiqa. Hina chinkarinpullantaq wakmantas. "Tun tun, tun tun, tun tun, tun tun," ripullantaq. Chayqa kaq kasqa, nansi, saqraq kasqa ari, diablo.
- 110 Chaysi aparqonan kaq kasqa cuerpontinta riki. almataqa riki. Aparqapunan kaq kasqa.  
Chaymanta libran hinaqa yastá paqarisnintinqa intipas altopiñas inti kashan hinaspa lloqsirqon hawata. Hina chayraqsi viudaqa hamun waqakuspa
- 115 pues. "Mmmmmmm," nispas waqaykamushan chay loma patamanta viudaqa. Hina, hinaqa sayaykamunsi loma patamantas uraykamushan k'uchuman sayaykamuspa viudaqa manchariykun chay riki. "Qhariycha?" yaqa qhawan. "Kausarirqamusqa," nispas sayaykamun
- 120 chay patamantari. Hinaqa nansi, "Qhariycha kausarqamun, sssssayaykamun!" nispa.  
"Ama, señora, manchakuwaychu!" waqakun ari hinaqa viajeroqa. "Ama, señor, manchakuwaychu!" nispas nin.
- 125 Hinaraqsi pasaykamun, "Señor, ñoqa chayaykamuni," nispas.  
"Lliuta kay kukuchin qatimuwan," nispa willakun q'alata hina.  
Chaypi viajeroqa quedapun hina chay
- 130 viudawansi tiyapun hina. Llamamaskhaqsi purin hina llamallansi escapakusqa. Allqitonsi karqan, huch'uy allqito; chayta mikhurqapusqa condenada. Ya hinaqa q'epillantas ch'ullamantas ch'isi tariykapun. Chaypis imanakunachá karqan hina
- 135 toldokunas kasqa. Anchaykunata ruwariykun. Hina warminwan wawanwan hanpun iskay watañas tiyarqospa wakmanta kutiykanpullantaq.
-

Story 1: The Poor Boy and the Magic Lamp

- 1 Huk pobre niño kasqa huk colegiopi, hinaspa  
chay colegiopi kasqa. Hinas huk runaqa hamusqa  
"Tioykin kani. Hakuyá paseakuq!" nispa.  
Mamanpaqta risqa, purinku mamanpaqta. Hinaqa  
5 campota rinku riki maytacha. Hinaspa hinaqa  
kutimullankutaq.  
Chaymantaqa, "Mama, paqarin noqa ripusaqyá!  
Kay tioysi, kay wiraqochaqa. Paqarin noqa purisaq!"  
"Phawayyá!" nispa kachan mamanqa. Hina  
10 purinku.  
Purinku hinaqa chayarqonku huk wasi hatunsi  
kicharayashasqa, t'oqo. Hinaspa, na, "Kayta  
waykurinki ultimota huk lamparata apamunki  
k'anchashaqta. Chayta apamunki, pero ama waykuspaqa,  
15 amapuni recognenkichu ni manzanata ni t'antata  
qan askha chayta ama recognenkichu!"  
Hinaspaqa chicochaqa waykun riki chay  
ukhuta, yastá waykun, waykun, carajo. "Manzanata  
kay manzana, kay manzanatataq mikhurusapuniraq,"  
20 nispa chay manzana mikhuruq, yá.  
Chay runaqa riki, "Yau, apuray, chicocha!  
Alcanzamuway chay lamparachata! Alcanzamuway!  
Alcanzamuway!"  
Hinaqa chay mana alcanzanchu, wesq'arakapun  
25 chayqa riki. Hinaspaqa kayqa chicochaqa wesq'asqa  
hinaqa chay runaqa pasakapun maytacha riki.  
Pasakapun, chayarakamun hinaqa maman.  
Kinsa watamanta chayamun hina. Mamanmanqa lloqsimun  
chiquitoqa riki chay ukhumanta. Hinaspa lloqsiramun,  
30 hina lloqsiramuqtintaq, "Mama, maypin karqanki?"  
nispacha nin hina.  
"Rirqani tal parteta."  
Hinaspa lamparitawan takaykun, "Taq, taq,  
taq!"  
35 Lamparitan, "En qué me sirvo amooooo?"  
nispas lamparitan contestan.  
Hinaqa, "Yo quiero que me hagas parecer  
comidas hartó," nispa. Mesapi hunt'arisqa, carajo,  
pobretaqa mikhuna hunkuringataqqa.  
40 Hinaqa hinas kanku. Hinataqsi, "Mama,  
paqarinsi reypa ususinsi bañakuq rinqa. Qhawamusaq  
chayta!"  
"Ama rinkichu! Wañuchisunkimanchu?"  
"Mana! Rillasaqmi, mama!" nin ya. Rin,  
45 hinaspaqa rispaqa riki calamina pataman, techo pataman



lloqsin. Chaymanta reypa ususinta rikun. Rikurqon, hinaspataq reypa ususinta rikun. Hina, "Yau, munay chicamá kasqa! Kasarakusaq haqay chicawan kunan ichaqa kasarakusun!"

50 Q'oste, q'oste wasinta pasan, carajo. Wasinpiqa nin, "Entonces, mama, chay reypa ususinga kasqa munay! Kunanqa kasarakusaqpuni! Horqorqapuway." nispas nin.

55 Hinaqa, "Bueno, pues, horqorqapusqayki, nan horqorqapusqaykiyá, pero ima qolqentas ñoqa mañakusaq?"

"Ya, entonces, frutata apay tal diapaq, askhatas frutata apaykuchiy reypa ususinman."

Reymanqa chayaykun, "Señor, churichaymi ususiykiwan kasarakuyta munan."

60 "Entonces tal diata kutimunki," nin hinaqa.

Chay reypa ususinga wak qhariyoqña kasqa, ves? Hinaqa kasarakun. Chay día kutin, maman kutin hinaqa, yastá chicaqa kasarakushasqaña huk muchachowan riki, huk qhariwan kasarakushasqaña hina. 65 Kasarakuqtintaq, ñan kutirqamun mamanta. Kutirqamun maman, tarin.

"Ima nisunki?"

"Yastá, kasarakapushañas."

70 Lamparitanqa, "En qué me sirvo, amooooo?" nispas lamparitanqa nin riki, lamparitanqa.

"Chay reypa ususinwan kasarakuq runata q'ala chichillata parecechiy bañopi!"

Hina nin, "Yasta, parecerqon!"

75 Huk qhepantin p'unchayta otra vez, "En qué me sirvo, mi amo?" niqtinqa, "Chay, chay noviota chay munasqay sipaswan kasarakuqta sapo huk hawapi paqarichiy," nin riki. "Kaq paqarichiy. Yastá hawapi, yastá, carajo, hawapi paqarichiy!"

"Paqarin puñunqa hawapi riki."

80 Hinaqa ya nas chaymantaqa qhepanta ya otra vez yastá, "Manan kay runaqa allinchi! Fusilasunchis!" nin yastá kay rey hinas. "Bueno, pues, wañupuchun," entonces nin hinaqa yastá.

85 Hinaqa ahí mismo chay jovenqa presentakun "Ñoqa kasarakusaq, ñoqa kasarakusaq ususiykiwan," nin. Hinaqa kasarakun ususinwan riki kasararqokun lliuta, carajo.

Lamparitan nin, "En qué me sirvo amo?"

90 "Yo quiero, yo quiero, lamparita," nin, castellanopi nin, "quiero, lamparita, que me hagas chay con una dos docenas de caballo, uno de blanco otro de oro," nispas nin riki.

95 Chayarqamun, carajo, kssss, huk lado callenta purin, carajo, q'ellukama caballo, huk ladota, huk ladotataq como qolqe yuraq qolqe huktataq qori ori qolqeyoq riki, sss, calleta t'aqakuspa purin; chayta runaqa recogeypun! Hinaspa kasarakapunku, yastá ripunku, palacionkama wasita ruwarqachiykun chay

- lamparawan. Hinaspa wasipi kanqa palacio kanqa.  
 100 Hinaspa tiyanku, tiyanku.  
       Hinaqa wakmanta chay runaqa yacharqosqa  
       chay jovenpa kausasqanta. Hina yacharqosqa. Hinaqa  
       purin, ahinata purin. Lampara huch'uyña thanta  
       lamparitallas kasqa.
- 105 "Mosoq lamparawan cambiasun (chay jovenpa  
       esposanqa mana yacharqanchu hina) haqay lamparitaqa,"  
       muchachata nispa. "Haqay lamparitaqa, senora  
       kashantaqmi. Cambiarukusunchis. Munay kay kaq!"  
       nin.
- 110 "Bueno, pues, cambiasunchis."  
       Cambiarqan. Yastá chay runaqa yacharqanña  
       imayna manejananta, hinaspa takaykun.  
       "En que me sirvo, amo?"  
       "Esto. Yo quiero este palacio que me  
 115 hagas parecer lejos de acá!" nispa chayqa.  
       Aparakapun chay jovenpa esposantaqa  
       aparakapun hinaqa, carajo. Hinaqa chay joventa,  
       wheeeeeyu, carcelman churanku! Puestopipas  
       wesq'asqa, fusilanku karqan.
- 120 Hina llaqta riki chay qolqeta recoge ykurqanku,  
       pallakuranku pampamanta. Anchaypi llaqtaqa riki  
       sayarin. "Ama fusilaychischu!" kayqa hina hina,  
       yastá, carajo.  
       Hinaspa esposanqa rin qosanmanqa watukuq.
- 125 Hinaspataq, "Ama, hijita, ama hina kaychu!  
       'Cervezata imaynatas ñoqapas tomakurqanki qosaywan  
       ahinallataq tomakusunchis vasopi,' ninki. Venenota  
       hich'ayusun. Tomarqochinki venenota. qoykunki.  
       Chaymanta tomarqochinki hinas chay lamparachatataq  
 130 takarinki, hina sitionchisman ukhurichinki," nispa.  
       Anchayllapi tukukapun chay cuento!
-



Story 1: The Story of the Hacienda with the Green Fields  
and the Blue Skies

- 1 Kay cuento comienzan. Huk tiempos kasga huk maqt'aqa  
llaqtanpis mana tariykusqachu huk p'asña. Entonces  
karu llaqtata risqa warmi maskhakuq. Mamanta nisqa,  
"Warmita munani, mama, " nispa. "Warmita munani.  
5 Manan kay llaqtanchispi kanchu ñoqapaq hina warmi,"  
nispa. Chayqa sapa wawantaqa huk mulapi qolqeta  
cargarispa qatipayun huk karu llaqtaman. Karutaña  
rishanku, karutaña.  
Karutaña rishanku hinaspas chaupi ñanpi  
10 presentarakamun huk caballero allin espuelasniyoq,  
allin caballopí; huk allin presentable caballero.  
Este chay caballero tapuyun chay runachata  
nispa, "Maytan rishanki?" nispa.  
"Llaqtaypi mana warmi tarikunchu, hinaspa  
15 ñoqa warmi maskhakuq purishani," nispa qolqe cargayusqa  
iskay mulapi, qolqe cargayusqa muchachontin.  
Entonces, "Hijo, noqaq kinsa ususiykuna kan.  
Hukkaqninta qosayki," nispa.  
Anchayqa contento maqt'aqa listoyapun, hinaspa  
20 tratota ruwayaramun chaypi. Tratota ruwarun, hinaspa  
chayqa ñanta pasapun, este, muchachontin, payninta  
ñaupan chay caballeroqa. Ñauparin, ñauparin  
karuchataña. Nauparun karuchataña, karuchataña,  
q'asata chinkayarapun. Hinaspa mana tariparunchu  
25 chay muchacho jovenqa. Mana tariparunchu.  
Chaymantaña chay karuchataña, karuchataña  
mana rikurapunkuña yastá pasarapun kuraqtaña. Chayqa,  
nan, chaypi askha oveja michiqkuna kasqa, pasteakuna,  
pastorkuna. Hinaspa tapuriykun chayta, "Manachu  
30 kay tarde pasararun caballero, huk caballero mula  
cargayasqa, huk muchachontin caballopí?"  
"Ni mana rikunichu, ni mana kaynintaqa  
pasanchu," nispa chayqa contestan.  
Entonces may huk lado ladontayá tapurukullantaq,  
35 huk lado chaypi trigota regasqaku, papata cosechasqaku.  
Hinaspa, "Manachu rikuranki kay ladonta pasarun huk  
caballero huk muchachontin qolqe cargayasqa?"  
"Ah...chayqa pasaruntaqqa kay papata  
sembrashaqtiy. Waktaraq pasarun chay caballeroqa  
40 unayñataqqa." nispa nin.  
"May, ima unayri kanman! Kunallantaq  
pasarun. Hamun kaynintaqa chinkayaramun manan  
unayñan!"



45 "Kaytapas cosechashaykuña, kay tarpushaqtiyraykuraqmi pasaruran chayqa. Ñoqayku kayta cosechashaykuña," nispa contestarqan.

Entonces muchachoqa llakiykun, "Imaynataq unayñari kanman, caramba? Imaynataq? May rarotaq kayqa! Kunallantaq chaytaq pasarun, imaynataq kay cosechata kay tarpushaqtillankuri kanman, unayñataq?" nispa nanku.

"Tapurikuyyá kaykunata," nispa. Chaypi huk pastorkuna huk lado pastorkuna kashan tapurikullantaq.

55 "Waw, khayna watañamá chayqa pasarunya. Unayñamá chay caballeroqa pasarun!" nispa.

"Pero maytataq kay pasanman?" nispa.

"Mana rikuykupunichu, iskay ladoqa chay... Ah, huk hacienda kasqa chaypi nisqa chay caballeroqa. Noqasi, 'Maymanta kanki?' nispa tapusqa. 'Cielos Azules Verdes Haciendaman kani noqa,' nispa."

60 Chay mayta chay tapuriykun chay pastorkunata. "Maypin chay hacienda quedan?" nispa.

"Mana kay ukhukunapi rikuykuswan q'alata masri kaypi manan chay haciendataqa rikuykuswan maytacha chay Cielos Azules Haciendas nisqaqa," nispa niran chayqa.

Karutañan rin, karutañan hukta maytan puñupakun huk wasipi chaypi puñupakun. Llakisqa runachaqa. Qolqenta perdeshan, iskay carga qolqenta perderun, muchachonta perderun, mulankunata perderun. 70 Caballonta chaupi ñanpi venderapun. Alforja cargayasqa chayllayá payqa ripun.

Chay maskhaspa, maskhaspa, manan tarinpunchu chay haciendata. "Maypitaq chayri? Wakinga ninku, 'Cielos Azules Verdes Haciendaqa mana rikukunchu.' Wakinga, 'Kayninta tarpushaqtiyraqmi kaytaq pasansi, 75 kunanmi ñataq cosechaykun.'" Aswanta llakiykun chaymanta; chay runachaqa llakiykun. Qolqenmanta llakiykun. Mulankunamanta llakiykun.

Hinaspa huk runacha aconsejarin, "Kay uraypin kan q'ala animalkunaq duenon, imaymana animalkunaq duenon. Chayta aswan tapurikuy! Hinaspa animalninkuna q'ala mundo enteronta purin chay animalninkuna chayqa reqsinmanmi," nispa.

85 Chayqa tapukuqsi rin. Chaypi imaymana animalkuna kashan. Manchakun chayqa. "Mikhuriyta munan chay runachaqa!" animalkuna manchakuspas nispa.

Chayqa chaytas tapurikun.

"Al frente kaykushan animalniykuna. 90 Reqsinpuni chay Cielos Azules Verdes Hacienda nisqata. Reqsinpuni!" Chayqa, "Ah, tapuyusunchis, a ver," nispa. "Tapuyusunchis. Paykuna reqsinmanmi!" nispa.

Hatun campanata tocayun. Hinaspa imaymana animalkuna chayman hamun: tigrekuna, condorkuna, 95 desde huch'uy pajaritokunamanta hatun pajarokunakama. Chayqa tukuy imaymana tapun llapantas tapuyushan chay



duenonqa, llapanta tapun, "Rikunkichischu chay Cielos Azules Verdes Hacienda?" nin.

100 "Manan. Manan rikuykuchu. Manan rikhurikunnachu ch'ulla condor. Ch'ulla machu condorllaña faltashan."

105 Chay hukta wansi campanata tocayun chayqa. Chay yanqallaña sayk'usqa chayamun chay machu condorqa. Yanqallaña chayamun. Hinaspa chay tapuyun.

110 Runachaqa llakisqa kashan. "Manaraq mayqenpas reqsinchu maypitaq chayri kanman?" nispa. "Chay machu condorllapiña esperanza kashan. Sichus chay mana reqsinqachu, yastá, perdeniñaqa," nispas llakiykushan chay runachaqa.

115 Entonces hukta wansi tocayun campanata chayqa apenasllansi machu condor chayayamun sayk'usqa karumanta. Chayqa, "Rikunkichu chay haciendata?" nispas tapuyun. "Cielos Azules Verdes Haciendata rikunkichu?" nispa.

"Ari, rikunin chaytaqa!" nispas nin chayqa.

Runachaqa kusirikun, "Ahora si!" nispa kusirikun.

120 "Entonces maypitaq, karupiraqchu quedan chay?"

"Ayyy! Maypitaq chayqa? Karupiraqmi chay quedan Cielos Azules Verdes Hacienda nisqaqa. Noqapas chayraq chay unayñamantaña chayamushani sayk'usqa. Karuraqmi kay llaqtaqa!" nispa nin.

125 "Entonces chay runachaqa hayk'a tiempopis chayanman?" nispa nin chay condorpa duenonqa tapuyun.

130 "Ay, kay runachaqa chayanman... Hayk'aq chayanman? Noqapas iskay tuta iskay p'unchaymi chayamushanin recién phawaspa tutatin p'unchaynintin!" nispa.

Anchayqa llakiykun aswanta waqan runachaqa qolqenmanta, asnokunamanta. Waqakun runachaqa hinaspa.

135 "Qan apawaqchu khaynata kay q'epiyukuwaqchu kay runachata chay llaqtaman chayarachiwaqchu?" nispa nin. "Chayarachiyman, pero pagawanmanchu?" nispa. "Huk torota rantipuwachun," nispa.

140 Entonces huk torota tutamanta rantirachikun condorqa, machu condor. Hinaspa q'alata aychanta mikhurparin. Hinaspa piernankunata cargayachikun runachaman cargayukun. Hinaspa q'epiyukun condorqa. Hinaspa phawayashan. Orqo orqonta phawayashan.

145 Chaykunamanta pacha paqariytaña chayaramuq chay orqo puntaman chaypi chayarunku. Hinaspa chaypi huk piernanta mikhurapun condorqa waka aychaq rantisqanta. Chaymanta, chaymanta, chaymanta phawallankutaq hasta tutayaykama, tutayapuqtintaq piernanta mikhurapullantaq, iskayllana quedapun. Chay ahina ahinata hasta tukunankama iskay p'unchay, iskay tuta phawayunku q'epiyusqa condorqa.



- 150                   Entonces pacha paqariytaña huk orqo  
puntaman chayarunku. Hinaspa chaymanta qhawayachin,  
"Huk chay uray pampapi kashan, chay uray pampapi kashan  
huk hacienda verde, marpas chaypi, sumaq azul,  
sumaqllaña ya." Entonces chayta qhawayachin.
- 155                   "En kaypin chay kaymi chay sutin Cielos Azules Verdes  
Hacienda," nisqa. Hinaspa nin chayqa, "Kaymi chay  
Cielos Azules Verdes Hacienda. Anchaypin kaypin  
chay caballero chay tupasqayki caballeroqa kaypin  
tiyan," nispá nin. "Kaypin chayqa tiyan.
- 160                   Haqaypin nan chaypi kinsa ususinkuna kan," nispá  
chayqa. "Anchaypi kunan haqay playaq kantonman,  
chay marpa kantonman ñakuq hamunqa hinaspa  
chaypi taripanki, chaypi parlanki chay p'asñawan,"  
nispá.
- 165                   Chay kusiqa runachaqa, carajo, kusiqaña.  
"Chayamuniña kay llaqtaman!" nispá, "chay Cielos  
Azules Verdes Hacienda!" nispá.
- Hinaspa chay pakaspa pakakushan chay  
runachaqa matorral qhepapi pakakuykushan. Hinaspa,  
170                   chaymansi kinsantin p'asñakuna hamun ñakuq.  
Hinaspa ropankuta q'alata saqetakamuspa, ñakunku  
chaypi. Hinaspa qori anillota chay pakan runaqa...  
chay maqt'aqa chay p'asnaqta, kur'aq kaq p'asnaqta.  
Chayta pakarun.
- 175                   Hinaspa chaymanta kutimun vestikunanpaq.  
Kutimun hinaspa manan tarinchu anillonta. Hinaspa  
chaypi rikhurin maqt'a. Hinaspa chaypi parlanku.
- Hinaspa, "Papaykin khayna engañawan," nispá.  
"Kaypi tiyaykuy. Karuta hamuchiwan!" nispá.
- 180                   "Kaymantaq hamuni kayman." Imaymana chayasqanta  
willan.
- "Arí, papay, papayqa chayamun huk muchachontin  
mulapis. Chaypi, haqaypi kashan qolqeykitapas  
chaypi montarayashan, pero muchachoykita papay  
185                   mikhurapun," nispá nin. "Mikhurun papay, qantapas  
mikhurusunkimanmi papayqa pero ama hina upallantapas  
chayankichu!" nispá nin chayqa. Allin amigota  
ruwanku parlanku chaypi.
- Hinaspa chayankus hasta maqt'aqa qhepata  
190                   haykun. Loco hina waqaykuspas haykun, "Carambas  
ñoqa chayamunin kay llaqtaykiman chayamunis. Manachu  
chayamuni maqaytaraqsi munanipas chay caballero!"
- Chayqa, "Allinmi, allinmi chayamusqanki  
allinta," nispá nin. "Allinta chayamunkiqa, pero  
195                   sichus upallanta haykunki chayqa, mikhurusunkimanmi  
papayqa!" nispas nin. "Ahina waqakuspa, ahina  
renegaspa haykunki!" nispá nin.
- "Ya, entonces kay ususiytawan kasarachisayki,"  
nispá nin. "Kasarakunki ususiypiwan, pero kinsa  
200                   tareatan cumplinki," nispas nin. "Kinsata kinsa  
trabajota qosayki hinaspa cumplinki. Kunan tutaqa  
samakullay, descansay, puñunki allinta. Paqarin  
tutamanta temprano trabajo rinki!" nispá nin.



205 Chayqa chay tutamantanga runachaqa kunan  
tutataqa puñushan. "Ima trabajotas qowanqa kunanqa?"  
nispa.

210 Chayqa ususinlla q'alataña willarun,  
"Chhayna chay anchay trabajokunata ruwanki chaypi.  
Sichus mana chay trabajokunata ruwanki chayqa,  
papayqa mikhurusunki!" nispas manchachin.

Chayqa manchasqas chay runachaqa puñun.  
"Imatas kunanqa ima trabajotas ruwachiwanqa?" nispa.

215 Chayqa natas huk pampatas qhawayachin,  
hatun pampata, hacienda pampata qhawayachin.  
Hinaspañataq huk masa torota qoykun huk saco  
trigotawan. "Kunanmi kayta q'alata nanki.  
Kayta ararunki torowan, torowan, tractorwan hina  
ararunki q'alata. Hinaspa trigota tarpurunki  
chayman. Hinaspa paqarin entregawanki trigota  
220 allinta poqoshaqtaña harinapaq hinaña, trigota  
q'ala cosechanalla cosechanallapaqña entregawanki,  
entregawanki chay trigota," nispas nin. "Qarparunki  
q'alata, unuwan regarunki," nispas nin.

225 Chayqa llakisqas runacha pasan huk masa  
torontin, huk carga trigontin pasan chay chakraman  
qatin pampanta sapallanri. Imaynataq ruwarunman  
huk p'unchayllari q'alata? Imaynatataq ruwarunman  
poqochinman trigotapas huk p'unchayllari?

230 Ima chay kanman. Chayqa llakisqa runachaqa,  
"Kunanri imanasaqtaq?" nispa. "Imaynataq?"  
Huk chikantas, huk chikan terrenotas ararun  
torowan. Hinaspas sayk'urun qarpananpaq. Huk  
hatun rumimantas chay patamantas unus sut'umushan  
gotita gotita unu sut'umushan. Chayqa llakisqa  
235 pay. "Imaynataq kunan kaywan qarpasaq? Imaynataq  
trigota poqochisaq?" nispas.

240 Almuerzo horata, almuerzo horasta chay  
p'asña almuerzota apamun. Hinaspa chay almorzaruspa  
puñurapun. Rikch'arunanpaqñas pampantin ña trigoqa  
sumaqtaña poqonanpaqña ya eranapaqña trigoqa, q'ala  
maduroña, allin qarpasqa, q'ala listollaña. Chayqa  
chay p'asña ya chaytaqa ruwarqosqa. "Imayna?  
Condenadochá? Imaynas chayqa riki? Imaynatas  
ruwarunpas chay huk ratollaqa riki?

245 Chayqa rikch'arusqa chayqa nan, "Tardenqa  
rinki wasiman, 'Noqan kayta ruwarani,' nispalla,"  
nispa. "Ama papaymanqa willankichu noqaq ruwasqaytaqa!"  
nispas nin. Chayqa, "Tardenqa locoyaykuspa haykunki!  
Ama upallantaqa haykunkichu!" nispa nin. "Papay  
250 mikhusunkiman!"

Chayqa locoyaykuspas haykun tardenqa maqt'aqa,  
"Carambas kay chay tarea qosqaykita ruwaruni q'alataña,  
carajo! Qharichus kani? Manachus qhari kani?" nispas  
locoyayuspas haykun.

255 "Allin, allin, hijo, ruwarusqanki p'unchayta,"  
nispas nin. "Ah, paqaringa huk trabajota qosayki.



Samakamuy kunanqa," nispa nin. "Descansay kunan tutaqa," nispa.

260 Entonces chay tutamantan tardenqa hukta puñuyushan maqt'aqa pensayushan, "Imatas kunan ruwachiwanqa?" nispa.

265 Chayqa tutamantaqa nisqa, "Haqay pampapi hukta torreta ruwarapuway, hatunta hasta cielo alcanzanankama," nispa nin, "campanantinta q'ala campana tocashaqa, q'alata ruwanki," nispa nin, "haqay pampapi rumichakuna kashan, anchay rumi-kunawan," nispa.

270 Chayqa maqt'a tutamantaqa barrotantin picotantin pasansi chay pampata. Khaynachatañas hatarichishansi, hatarichishansi torrechataqa p'uqchuykullantaq p'uqchuykullantaq chayqa manas atinchu. "Imaynataq cielokama ruwasqa? Maymantan campanakunata horqosqa ñoqa chayta ruwanaypaq?" nispas. Llakisqa maqt'aqa almuerzo horastaña ya  
275 otra vez p'asña apamullantaq almuerzota chayqa. Puñurun chayqa rikch'arunanpaqña torreqa hasta cielokama alcanzaykushan, campanapas tocaykushan. Chayqa chhaynataqsi kutin tarden papanpa wasinta. "Carambas ruwaruni kayta! Qharichus kani?  
280 Manachus qharikani? Ruwarani kay torreta hasta cielokama!" nispa.

"Allinmi, allinmi, hijo, allintapuni ruwashanki!" nispa nin. "Ususiytawan kasarachisayki," nispa nin. Chaymantaqa, "Paqarin ultimo tarea  
285 cumplinayki chay paqarin cumplinki chayqa, ususiytawan kasarachisayki. Sinos mana paqarin cumplinkichu chayqa, mikhusayki!" nispa nin.

290 Chayqa llakisqa runachaqa puñuykullantaq. Ñas tutamantaqa nisqa, "Haqay pampapi kunan hinataq molinota ruwanki," nispa nin. "Molino ruwanki, molino trigo kutashaqa panaderiatawan ruwanki chaypi hinaspa t'antapas caliente lloqsinqa chaymanta. Chayta q'alata ruwanki," nispas nin. "Ultimo tarea," nispa.

295 Chayqa, "Maymantataq molinontawan molina maquinakunapas horqonqa payqa chay horasta? Iman, maymantataq trigotapas imatapas horqonqa? Imaynataq huk p'unchayllari ruwanqa molinokunatari q'alatari?"

300 Llakisqa runachaqa puñullan trabajashan huk chikanta, sayk'urunñas, manan imatapas ruwayta atinchu, molinopas ni maquinakunapas, ni t'antapas, imapas, ni hornopas imapas, q'ala, sayk'usqa runachaqa.

Chaymantaqa p'asña apamullantaqsi almuerzota chhayna kinsantinpaq, kinsantin p'unchaypaq. Apamun chayqa, almorzaruspa, puñurapun chayqa, rikch'arunanpaq q'ala molinopas tusumunayashasqa q'ala molinokuna. T'antapas panaderiakunamanta lloqsiyamushan hornontin, q'ala listo. Chayqa chhaynataqsi kutillantaq kуска



- 400 p'unchayqa runachaqa rikch'arayakushansi  
samakushan chaypi. Tardēña, tardeyayaqtinga  
kutimun wasiman chayqa. Papanta khayna  
gritonayaykushantaq, "Qharichu kani? Kayta  
405 ruwarani kay kinsantin tareata, carajo, ñan,  
kay ususiykiwan kasarakuṣaq!" Ooh, liso haykumun  
renegaspa.
- Chayqa chay tardēña, "Allinmi, allinmi,  
hijo. Paqarin ususiytawan kasarachisayki,"  
nispa nin. Chayqa, "Pero kinsa ususiykunata  
410 presentaykis, hijo, primerota, kinsa ususiykunata."  
Chayqa, "Akllaykunki mayqentas munanki," chayqa  
nispa. Chayqa reqsinakuspan p'asñanqa kuraq  
p'asñawanqa chaytawansi kasaranakuran karqan,  
hinaspas uniformarachin el mismo uniforme  
415 q'alata. Hinaspa, hinataqmi k'umurachin  
makinpas qhepaman ahinata, las tres, las tres  
ususinta agachadas juntas con las manos atrás.  
Hinas k'umurayashanku hina cama patapi ahinata.
- Chayqa, "Mayqenta munasqa akllarikuy,"  
420 nispa nin, pero sichus mana acertanman karan chay  
ususin, kuraq ususinwan chayqa, hukta pantarunman  
chayqa mikhurunman karan payta maqt'ata. Pero  
chay p'asñaqa yacharanna q'ala imaymana ñas  
papan ruwananta. Chayqa dedollantas ahinata  
425 p'asñaqa muyurichin ahinata kuyurichin.
- Anchayqa chay acertan, "Kaywanmi!"  
nispa nin.
- Chayqa, "Allin acertarunki, hijo,"  
430 nispas nin. "Kunan kasarachisayki, kasarakunki,"  
nispa nin.
- Chay tutas puñuyashan camapi puñunku  
iskayninku, hinaspas allinta puñurashan. Hinaspa  
papanqa huk lado wasinta puñuq rin. Hinaspa tuta  
kuskapi haykumun huk hachantin. Hinaspas hachawan  
435 golpewan umapi sipirunan karan maqt'ataqa.  
Hinaspa p'asñaqa yachasqana chayta. Hinaspa tuta  
kuskapi escaparusqaku, karuta pasakunku. Llaqtanta  
maqt'aq llaqtanta kutinpunku.
- Chayqa hachawan camallataña golpearapun,  
440 "K'a" nispa. Velata prendeyuruspa, mana imapas  
kasqachu; q'ala pasakamunqaku. Chayqa paykunaqa  
karutañas hamushanku, karutañas hamunku, manas  
taripamunchu papan. Hinaspa pero papanqa  
qatipamunraqsi, hinaspa qatipamunraqsi, "Taripasaq!"  
445 nispa. "Taripasaq!" nispa. Pero ñanpis, kуска ñanpis  
naqa p'asñaqa rumiman tukurapun, maqt'ataq  
caballoman tukurapun.
- Chayqa chaymanta kutipullantaq naqa runaqa,  
450 papanqa. Chay machu runaqa kutipullantaq, hinaspa  
warminpa kasqan wasinman chayapun. "Manan, manan  
tupanichu piwanpas," nispa. "Maypichus kanpas?  
Maymanchá pasakunku? Manan tupaniñachu," nispa nin.



- Warminqa ninsi, "Zonzo, carambas, chayqa naqa, chay rumitaqqa ususinchis kashan, chay  
455 maqt'aqa chay caballotaq kashan! Chaytaqa chaytas riki apamuwaq karan!" nispa.  
Chayqa, "Manan!"  
Huktawan kutillantaqsi, chaykamaga ñas  
460 aswan karutanas rishanku, paykuna karutana rishanku.  
Chayqa huk qochamansi, hatun qocha kasqa, laguna.  
Chayman, chaypis chaymansi p'asnaqa tukurun,  
maqt'ataqsi tukurapun patoman chaypi. Pato  
nadayushan qochapi, chaupi qochapi nadayushan  
pato.  
465 Chayqa wasita kutillantaqsi runaqa.  
"Manan tupanichu qochallawan tupani huk pato  
nadashan chaypi."  
"Chaytaq ususinchisqa kashan! Chaytaq  
470 chay maqt'a kashan. Chaytas apanpaqri karan,"  
nispa.  
Huktawan kutirichimullantaq warmi, chay  
warmi. Chayqa runaqa kutimullantaqsi kananpas.  
"Aswan ñoqawan kutisun," nispa warmintin kutimunku.  
"Taripasunchispuni! Imayna apakamusun ususinchista,"  
475 nispa.  
Chayqa karutanas hamushan chaykama,  
karutatanas chay maqt'apas p'asnantin escapakushanku  
karutanataq. Hinaspas chaypi huk chaka patapi  
chakanatas tukurapun runaqa. Caballonkutaqsi  
480 tukurapun, huk, na, mana caballonqa, chaka  
kutirapusqa, maqt'ataq kutirapusqa huerta,  
p'asnataq t'ika kutirapusqa. Chayqa chay huk  
cuidantes chaypi kashan. Hinaspas papankuqa  
t'ikachata arrancarinku karan. Paykuna  
485 yachashankunna chay kasqanta. Hinaspan chay jardineroga  
manan imatapas arrancachiyta munanchu. Revolverwan  
apuntan, "Si ñachus kay t'ikata nanki chayqa  
sipirusayki!" nispa.  
Chayqa papan maman yachashansi chay  
490 ususin kasqan, hinaspas chaypi negatamunki.  
"Manan ususiychu kunanqa kanki! Manan rikuwankipasñachu  
kunanqa!" Q'alas negatamunku chayqa.  
Chaymanta nanqa ripunku manaña pipas  
seguinñachu; ya está. Tranquilo kutipunku  
495 llaqtankuta. Pay paykunapas mamankupas papankupas  
kutinpunku llaqtankuta tranquilo. Maqt'apas  
p'asnantin maqt'aq llaqtanta kutinpunku tranquilo.  
Chayqa unayñas, chayqa unayñas pasan, ooh,  
hayk'a watanas pasan chay chaykunaq kasqanmantaqa.  
500 Hinamantaqa, chaymantaqa maqt'as,  
"Primero llaqtayta risaq," nin, "primerota."  
Hinaspa huk mach'aypi saqeratamun karun llaqtanpi  
cercata hinana saqeratamun warmintaqa. Chaypi  
saqeratamun, hinaspa, "Noqa kutiramusaq kunallan  
505 mamanchista rikuramusaq. Hinaspa alistaramusaq allin  
recibiwananchispaq," nispas nin. Chayqa llaqtamansi



- haykurun maqt'aqa. Hinaspa chaypi qonqaranpun  
p'asñataqa; chay karuchapi huk mach'aypi  
saqeratamuspa chaypi qonqarun, qonqarun.
- 510 Huk warmiwan kasarakanpun llaqtanpi chay  
maqt'aqa. Hinaspas huk warmiwan, oooh, fiesta  
ruwayushanku chaypi!
- Hinaspa chay warmiqa llakisqaña.  
Huk wawantinsi kanpas chay warmiqa. Chay
- 515 karumanta apakamusqan warmiqa huk wawachantinsi  
karan hina. Unayñan thantallaña warmichapas  
manaña mana ropantillaña q'ala olvidasqa q'ala.
- Hinaspa gallotas rantiykun chay warmi.  
Hinaspa chay maqt'aqa maqt'a apamuqta chay
- 520 maqt'aman gallota ofrecen. Chay warmichaqa mana  
reqsisqachu q'ala, desconocida, q'ala thantachallaña.  
Hinaspa, "Kay gallota vendesayki," nispas.  
Rantikun chay maqt'a gallota.
- Chay galloqa tutamantansi sapa tutamantan  
525 cantan chay galloqa. Hinaspa, "Chhayna  
apamuwaranki. Chhayna tukuranchis rumikunaman,  
hina markunaman tukuranchis, hina patokunaman  
tukuranchis! Manachu yuyanki chayta?" nispas  
takin galloqa sapa tutamanta.
- 530 Chaymantansi yuyarun maqt'aqa,  
"Cheqa ichataqa imaynas qonqarani warmiyta?"  
nispas. "Cheqaqtaq karan chayqa," nispas  
yuyarun chayqa.
- Hinaspa chaymanta chaymanta yuyaruspanña  
535 pasamun chay mach'ay saquesqanman chaymi warmin.  
Chay warmintaqa thantachataña tariran q'ala  
traposallataña todo, olvidasqata qonqasqata.  
Chaypi tarin. Hinaspa chaypis warmiqa renegasqa  
huk lado uyanpi ch'aqlan, carajo, maqan chaypi!
- 540 Hinaspa asno uyaman tukurapun runachaqa. Chaymanta  
huk lado huk lado uyanpi ch'aqlallantaq  
warmi hinaspa chayman chaymanna yuyarin kutirun  
runaqa.
- Hinaspaña chaymanta haykupunku llaqtankuman.  
545 Chaypi banda y música imaymanakuna haqaypi, qolqeyoq  
qhapaq runa chaypi karan chayqa. Chay qolqe cargayusqa  
warmi maskhaq puriq kasqa. Chayqa allin qolqeyoq  
chaypi karan allin reypa wawan. Hinaspa chaypi  
banda y musica q'ala recibinku chaypi; q'ala
- 550 recibinku, fiesta ruwanku chaypi.
- Chay huk warmitataqsi encinta engañaspa  
apan huk mar kantonman chaypi. Apan hinaspa  
chaypi huk cajonsi chaypi kasqa. Hinaspa  
"Chaypi...kaypi mediyusayki a ver sichus qanpaq  
555 hina kanman," nispas qhariqa mediyukun. Hinaspa  
mana paypaq hinachu kasqa. "Ah, qanñataq  
mediyuykiyá," nispas nin. Chayqa warmitas mediyukun,  
hinaspa chaypi cerraruspa, mar ukhuman tanqayatamun  
chhaynataq chay huk warmitaqa primero kasarusqan

560 warmintaqa. Hinaspa, hinaspa chaypi sipirun chay  
warmita, chay huk warminwantaqsi allin quedapun,  
kasarakunku chaypi. Wiñay tiyakunku feliz.  
Anchayllapi cuento tukupun.

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Story 1: Andrés and the Devil

- 1 Huk pacha karan huk runa, sutin karan Andrés.  
Chay runaqa warminta maskharukun riki. Warminwan  
tiyan chunka wataña. Sapa wata huk wawanta  
wacharunña warmi riki. Chaymantaqa riki runaqa  
5 mana llank'aspa aypachiykunchu salariowan  
manan qolqen kannachu. "Imawantaq huk wawaykunata  
p'achasaq mana mikhunapas kanchu!" nispa runaqa.  
Sapa p'unchaypi llakisipalla purin riki, purispaqa  
runaqa, "Carajo, imaynataq ñoqa?" nispa nin.  
10 "Kunanqa paqarin ñoqa llank'asaq, ñoqa purisaq!  
Chaymantaqa, "Orqo patata seqaykusaq. Chaymanta  
orqo patamanta ukhuman wikch'uykukusaq," nispa  
niran.
- Chaymanta chay runaqa chaymanta purin  
15 Andresqa riki, purishan qhepanta purin, purin  
orqo patapi, oooooohhheeee, maytacha orqo patapi riki  
rin! Chaymantaqa huk ña wikch'unan karan ya  
barranco ukhumanña riki chay orqo patamanta ukhuman  
kaykunan karan.
- 20 Chaymantaqa chaymantaqa waqaramun riki  
condenado riki, "Yau, Andrescha, imatataq ruwankiri?"  
nispa nin.
- Andresqa nin, "Pi chaytaq waqamushanri kay  
ukhumanri? Ni imapas, ni runapas kanchu!" nin.  
25 "Yau, Andres, imata ruwankiri?" nispa.  
Chaymantaqa riki condenadoqa riki  
lloqsiramun chay orqomanta riki. Wah kicharakamun  
riki qaqqa punkunta kicharakamun. Chaymantaqa,  
"Imatataq chayta ruwanki?"  
30 "Ñoqaqa wañuyta munani. Sipikusaqmi!  
Wawaykuna kan. Manan mikhunanpas kanchu. Manan  
p'achanpas kanchu. Imatataq wawaymanri qosaq?"  
nispa nin Andresqa diablotaqa.
- Chaymantaqa supay nispa nin, "Ah, ah,  
35 ñoqa qosayki huk poderta, chaywan qan qolqekunata  
maymantas bancokunamantas suwarakamunki askhata,  
chayta manan pipas rikusunkichu!" nispa nin.  
Chaymantaqa, "Kay qelqata ruwarakamusun kay papellllapi,"  
nispa y papeltapas qoramun riki, diabloqa riki.  
40 "Kaypi qelqarakamusun chaymanta contratota," nispa.  
Chay makinmanta kuchurun. Chaymanta yawarninta  
horqorun. Yawarnin chaywan qelqarunku riki qaqapi.  
Chaymantaqa chay huk anillota qomun.  
Kay anilloyqa poderniyki kanqa," nispa nin.  
45 "Qan kay anilloyan, 'Qori!' nispa ninki, chay manan



pipas rikusunkichu," nisper nin.

Chaymantataq Andresqa riki kutikamun. Chaymanta kutimun wasinman, na, eh, huk purishan caminopi puriyushan hinaspa. Wauqenkuna hamun riki. Wauqen hamun, chaypi, "Qori!" nin Andresqa. Payqa manan rikunchu, payqa rikushantaq wauqentaqa.

Entonces chaymanta bancoman chayan. Bancopi guardiaqa sayashan riki punkupi. "Qori!" nisper, manan guardiaqa rikunchu Andrestaqa. Andresqa bancoman waykurun. Bancoman waykuqtinga huk qolqekunata horqorakamun riki. Caja fuertemanta horqorakamun qolqetaqa. Chaymanta wasinman apan. Wasinman chayan manan wawankunawan warminpas rikunchu wasinman chayaqtinga. Chaymantataq Andresqa hunt'achun llipinta riki.

Entonces chaymantataq warminqa huk pacha karan juk chico erqechakuna riki yarqaymanta wañuspa riki, k'uchukunata maskharparikun riki. Chaymanta huk cajapi, ahí pues, tariramun papelta. "Imataq kay?" nisper. "Papelchu, imachu, mamay? Kaypi kay wasi ukhupi kashasqa kay," nisper. "Ima chay?" nisper. Qolqetaq kashasqari.

Chaywan warminqa askhata hallp'ata rantiyamun, chukllakunata ruwarachin. Chaymanta erqekunata mana taytayoyq mana mamayoyq chaykunata juntarun llapanta. Chaymanta doctorkunata contratan, colegiokunata ruwachin. Chaymanta imakunatapaspas chay machu runakuna kan riki. Abuelachakuna abuelochakunata chaykunata juntaramun. Chay mana puriyta atinñachu riki, así mana kallpayoqña, mana kirukunapas kanchu mikhunanpaqña imakunapas riki. Chayta ruwakamun, chaymanta, ooooh, ruwachin.

Chaymanta ya como contratopi kan chunka watallapaq riki diablowan. Chunka watallawan karan contratoqa. Chaymantataq Andresqa wasinman ya chayamun riki, chayan. Sunkhanpis uksqata paywan winarusqa sunkhanpi winarusqa chukchankunataq hatun riki. Warmi hina pay chaypi karan. Lunarnin karan kay ladopi uyanpi.

Chaymantataq chay wasinpi chay, ya, "Imataq chay machu runachari?" nisper warminqa recogerakapun riki. Manan pay warmi yachanchu chaytaqa, nispaqa. "Chayta hatariy!" Kayta kuchushanku riki sunkhanta.

Chaymanta reparakun riki lunarninmanta warminpaq. "Imataq sutyikiri?" nisper tapun.

"Noqaq sutyiqa Andres," nisper nin.

"Chay Andres, Andres?" nisper. Entonces, "Imataq apellidoykiri?" nisper tapullantaq. Apellidontataq willallantaq.

Entonces chaymantataq Andresqa nin, "Manachu ñoqata reqsiwanki?" nin.

"Eh, ñoqa reqsiykimanchu?" nisper nin warmi.

"Noqa qhariykitaq kashani," nispatataq nin Andresqa riki. Chayqa riki qharintataq, ooooh, much'ayun



- 100 warmi riki wihina ukhuman waykurun.  
Chaymantaqa riki Andresqa nin, "Ñoqa  
chay orgonta condenadowan ñoqa contratota ruwani.  
Qelqata qelqani qaqa patapi," nin. "Paqarin  
p'unchay cumplinqa contratoy chaymantamá ñoqa  
105 paqarin p'unchay ripusaqña manan kutimusaqñachu.  
Diablo mikhuwanqa," nispa nin.  
Chaymantaqa warmin nin, "Manan,  
imaraykuraqtaq mikhusunkimanri?" nispa nin warminqa.  
"Haku!" Tayta curaman iglesianman confesarakamunki."  
110 Chaymanta, "Na, paqarin risun!"  
"Cheqaq eh!" nispa nin Andresqa. Pasakapun  
riki iglesiaman.  
"Tayta cura, confesaramuy."  
"Ima?" nispa.  
115 "Imantaq mikhuynkunata qolqeykunata chay  
diablowan contratota ñoqa condenadowan ruwani,"  
nintaq Andresqa.  
Chaymantaqa huk zurriagota qomun, hatun  
zurriagota riki. Chaymanta agua benditata qomun.  
120 "Chayman paqarin rinki. Las ocho rinki p'unchaytaqa.  
Chaymantaqa diablo lloqsiramunqa, qan qaparinki riki,  
'Wayqey, kay phiña kashani!' nispa ninki riki."  
Hinaqa diablo loqsiramun, "Andres,  
imapaqtaq warmiykita pusamunki? Sapallayki hamuwaq  
125 riki!" nispa. "Warmiykiwanchu contratota qelqata  
ruwani? Manamá! Qanllawan ruwani!" nispa nin  
diabloqa.  
"Hamullayya! Kaypi conversasun huk  
ratolla. Parlariykusun riki," nispataq nin Andresqa.  
130 Chaymantaqa Andresqa, "Tayta cura nin, 'Condenadoqa  
asno convertirakunqa. Chay soq'allanki asnotaqa!  
Chaymantaqa convertirakunqataq qalaywa. Qalaywata  
soq'allanki también,' nispa nin. 'Chaymantaqa  
hamp'atu convertirakapunqa. Hamp'atutapas  
135 soq'allay, soq'allay! Chaymanta convertirapunqa  
gusano,' nintaq. 'K'uru, k'uru convertirakunqa.  
Soq'allanki anchaypi rukuy ukhunman.'"  
Entonces diabloqa nin, "Ña Andres  
ganarunñataq ya otra vez!"  
140 Soq'aspa riki qaparichin diablotaqa riki.  
Chaymanta nin, ya Andres nin, "Chay contratotaqa,"  
nispa nin, "llik'iy chay qelqata," nispa nin.  
"Llik'iy! Llik'iy!" nispa nin. "Kay anilloykita  
qopusayki," nispa nin. "Mana apawankichu! Ñoqa  
145 ganarushaykiñataq!" nispa nin kunanqa poderninta  
qomun anillopi riki. Chaymanta, "Ganarushaykiñataq!"  
Entonces diabloqa nin, qaparin,  
"Mananña! Kunan mikhurusaykipuni!" nispataq nin riki  
diabloqa Andrestaq.  
150 Chayqa, Andresqa nin, "Mana atiwaqchu!"  
nispa nin. Soq'allantaq riki, soq'allan! Chaymanta  
ya qelqatapapas riki llik'irparin riki. Qaqakunapas

riki llipinta thunirparikun pampaman.

Chaymantaqa Andrés wasinman kutikamun.

155

Wasinman kutimuqtinga, Andresqa ya tiyakapun  
wawankunawan. Chaypi tiyan Andres como millionario,  
tiyakapun riki.

Anchaypi chay cuentoqa tukukapun.

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Informant #32

Story 1: How the People of Chumbivilcas got the Name  
'The People with the Golden Lassos'

- 1      Ñaupaqsi viajerokuna risqa karan Viracota.  
Viracomanta llapa kutillasqakutaq, hinaspa  
huk laguna patapi tarisqaku iskay torota  
puñushaqta. Hinaspa mana paykuna cuentatapis  
5      qosqakuchu chay toropin pasarullasqaku.  
Chaymantataq chaymantan huk compañeron  
nisqa, "Yau, chay torota sacapakusunchis!"  
"Imapi chaypi sacasunchis?" nispa.  
Hinaspa chay hukkaq compañeronqa animakusqa,  
10      lazota alistakusqa. Hina primerotaqa arrea-  
llasqakuraq, hinas chayman mana torokuna qori  
thataqtinñataq kachayoq kaq companeronqa laziarusqa  
huk torota hinaspa jalasqaku. Hina manachu atisqachu  
encima de la lagunamanta. Chaymanta lazota  
15      t'ipikuqtin cuentata qokunku. Hinas chay lazota  
t'ipikuqtinqa, qhepata hawarikuqtinkuqa, kasqa, na  
huk, ahina qorimanta hina hatun toro. Chayman  
chay p'unchaumanta pachan chay viajerokuna kasqaku  
Vililliman. Chay viajero kunan chay p'unchaumanta  
20      pacha ahina llaqtankumantaq kutimuspa willanku  
paisanonkunaman.  
Hinaspataq chaymanta rimaytakama kachayunku  
chay q'ellu toromanta, o sea chay oro toromanta, hina.  
Hinaspataq ninku, "Entonces chay toroqa karan qori  
25      toro." Entonces chay p'unchaumanta chay Chumbivilcas  
lado chaykunaqa 'Qori Lazo' sutintin kanku. Chaymi  
kunan chay gente Vililli lado, Qosqo lado chaykunaqa  
'Qori Lazo' sutiyoq kanku.
-

Informant #37

Story 1: The Lovers Who Ran Away

- 1 Es cuento. Chicowan tupaspas manan maridowan  
kapusqachu. Ah, na, pisqawasqa, pisqawaqtinsi  
chica pasapusqa. Hinas chico mana kapusqachu  
chay chicotaqsi pasakapusqa. Hinaspa mana chay  
5 chicopas kapullasqapas chinkarapusqa iskayninku.  
Papansi waqasqa mamitanpis waqallasqataq. Hinas  
papansi manan tarisqachu chicata. Hinas waqasqa  
mamitan waqasqa. Hermanonkuna waqallasqaku.  
Hinaspa manapunin kapusqachu; chinkarapusqa..  
10 Pasarakapun chay chica con chay chicowan.  
Hinaspa chay chicoq papantaq pasakapusqa urayta.  
Mana chicowan mana chiconata tariqtin paseakapusqa.  
Mamitan qaca patapi qasiyakapusqa.
-



Story 1: The Three Brothers Who Meet God

- 1 Huk kinsa maqt'itos kasqa mamantin taytantin.  
Hina chay maqt'itotaq kuraq kaq nin,  
"Vendekuqa purisaq. Vendekuq purisaq llaqtata," nin.  
Hinaspataq, hinaspa frutata apasqa, manzanata,  
5 naranjata. Hina chay cuestataña seqarushan hina.  
Hina Taytanchis tiyashasqa, Dios.  
Hinaspataq, "Maytataq purishanki?" nisqa  
chay chicota.  
Hina, "Purishani llaqtata."  
10 "Imata apashanki?"  
"Waqrata apashani!" nisqa, hinaspataq  
purishan.  
"Purillay! Purillay! Waqraykita apay!"  
nisqa.  
15 Hina purishan, purishan, llasallaña  
kashan carga hina. Llaqtata chayaykun vendenapaq.  
Hinaspataq apaqqa hina venden. Hina runakuna  
hamun, phawamun.  
"Fruta chayamushan!" nispa hina apaqqa.  
20 Hina waqralla kasqa chay cargapi, frutakuna  
montarparikun. Hinaspataq chay frutata mana  
vendeyta, vendepunchu.  
"Apakapuy chay waqraykita!" nispa guardiakuna  
waqtaspa kutichipusqa. Hinaspataq chayan wasinta  
25 mana ima frutapas kasqachu.  
Hina sullk'a kaqñataq purin hina.  
"Frutata vendekuq ñoqañataq purisaq," nispa.  
Kaqllatataq apasqa: manzanata, naranjata cargapi  
burrontin.  
30 Hinaspataq chay burropi purishan, hinalla  
cuestataña seqarushan. Hinaspa Dios, Tatito,  
chay cuestapi tiyashasqa. Hina, "Niño, mayta  
purishanki?" nispa nin.  
"Purishani llaqtata."  
35 "Imata apashanki?"  
"Mierdata apashani!" nispa nisqa chay  
maqt'ito.  
Hinaspataq, "Apallay, apallay mierdaykita!"  
nispa kutichisqa.  
40 Chaymanta llaqtata chayashanña cargapi  
pasaq asnallaña chaypi cargarparisqa. Hinaspataq,  
hinaspataq chay maqt'itoqa waqaspa kutipullasqataq.  
Hinaspataq laqlanta chayan wasinta. Hina mana  
imatapas apanchu, ni qolqepas, imapas. Lliuta  
45 perdepusqa hina.

- Chanaka kaqñataq nin, "Ima apasaq ñoqañataq?  
A ver...frutata," nin. "Apasaq naranjata, manzanata."  
Hinaspataq purishan cuestataña hina chaypi  
Tatitoqa tiyashallasqa chaypi. Hina, "Imata  
50 apashanki, niño?" nispa nin.  
"Naranjata, manzanata apakushani vendekunaypaq,"  
nispa chay kaq contestasqa.  
Hinaspataq, "A ver. Venderiway."  
"Manan vendeykimanchu! Regalasayki!"  
55 hinas qomun.  
Hinaspataq, "Qan kaq, qan kaq! Chay  
hermanoykichis chay runakuna, chay maqt'itokuna  
iskaynin pasan. Chay, 'Waqrata apashani!' nispa  
contestawan. Hukkaqtaq, 'Mierdata apashani!'  
60 nispa. Ahinapuni qanlla contestanki sumaqta!"  
nispa. "Qan kaq kunan chayta allinta vendenki,"  
nispa nin hina. "Kunan purinki, hinaspa rantimunki  
huk charangota, iskay pañuelotawan," nisqa.  
Hinaspa ya purisqa, chayan hina. Fruta  
65 pasaqta atipapusqa. Hinaspataq na venden. Hina  
talegapi hunt'arqon qolqe, sombreropi hunt'arqon  
qolqe. Hinaqtinpi hinaspa hinata saqepusqa  
frutata, wakinta apapusqa. Hina pañuelota  
rantisqa, charangotataq manan rantisqachu. Hina  
70 kуска ñan kutiripun, hina rantimusqa.  
Hinaspataq Tatitoqa chaypi tiyashasqa hina.  
Hinaspataq qonsi. Qon charangota iskaynin pañuelota.  
Hinaspa frutata mikhun. Hinaspa maqt'itota nin,  
"A ver. Ahinata tocanki, burrotaq tusunqa," nisqa  
75 hinaspataq. Pay tocan Diospa Tatitonchis tocasqan  
hina. Hinaspataq burrotaq tususqa.  
Hinaspataq chayan wasinta hina; tocakuspa  
chayan burrotaq tususpa chayan wasinta. Hinaspataq  
askha qolqeyoq hermanonkunataq pasaqta envidiakusqa.  
80 Hinaspa, "Maymantataq qolqeta horqomunki?  
Suwakunkichá?" nispa nisqa.  
"Manan ñoqaqa suwanichu! Manan ñoqaqa suwanichu!  
Tatiykun, Tatiton qowan! Ñoqa sumaqta contestani,  
chayrayku qowan ñoqaman kay qolqekunata," nispa  
85 nisqa hinaspataq.  
Hinaspa quejan guardiakunaman quejampusqa  
hermanonkuna. Hinaspataq purisqa asnitontin  
puestota. Hinaspataq, "Tocasaq charangota!"  
Hinataq asnitonqa tusupushan puestopi. Hinaspataq  
90 guardiakunaqa asiykapunku! Hermanomantaq qolqeta  
qon, mamanmanpas qolqeta qon. Allin tiyapusqaku.



Story 2: The Little Horse of Seven Colours

- 1 Huk runas kasqa kinsa maqt'itontin. Chay,  
papantaq nisqa, "Ama qankunanataq kunanqa  
purinkichis t'ika velaq?"  
"Mana ñoqaqa puriymanñachu. Sayk'usqaña  
5 kani," nispá nin.  
Hina papanqa nisqa, "Qan kaq purinki!"  
"Kuraq kaq purinqa."  
Hina, "Mayqen kaq wawaycha kunan  
hap'irukunqa chay t'ika mikhuqta?"  
10 "A ver. Noqa purisaq! Churaykapuway  
t'anta, kokata, cigarrota, hinaspa purisaq!"  
Qosqa papanqa. Rantin hina qosqa.  
Hinaspataq t'antata mikhusharqan. Kokata  
akullirqon. Cigarrota fumarqon. Yastá kуска  
15 tutaña puñuq qheparqakapun. Hina caballito  
de siete colores waykun. T'ikata mikhurakapun.  
Q'alata mikhurqan.  
Hinaspa papan hamun, "Manapunin chikalla!  
Ñoqallapuni cuidasaq!" nispá. Hinaspa, "A ver.  
20 Sullk'ay kaqnataq purinqa t'ika cuidaqmi. Chay  
kaqchu chay hap'iruwanka chay t'ika mikhuqta?"  
nin hina.  
Kagllatataq mañasqa: t'anta, koka, cigarro.  
Puñusqa puñuq. Kokata akullirqon. T'antata  
25 mikhun. Cigarrota fumarqon. Puñuq qheparqapullantaq.  
Hina caballito de siete colores waykun. T'ikata  
q'alata mikhurakapun. Hinaspa papan hamun hina.  
"Imawantaq tiyasun chika?" nin. Hinaspa, "A ver.  
Chanaka kaqnataq purinqa."  
30 Chanaka kaq purin hina. Chanaka kaq  
mañan kokata, cigarrota, alfilertawan. Hinaspa  
papanqa rantin chaykunata, hinaspa qomun chanaka  
kaqman. Hina puñushan, puñushan alfilerwan  
t'iparararqopun p'achankunata tiyaykunanpaq  
35 sayarinanpaq. Hina puñushan. Yastá,  
"Achikichikichiku!" nispá nin chay maqt'itoqa.  
Hinaspataq kуска tuta pasanña. Hinas  
caballito de siete colores loco mikhushasqa.  
Hinaspataq pay waskhantin tiyashasqa. Hina hukta  
40 maywirin hina hap'irqon caballito de siete colorestaq.  
Hinaspataq caballito de siete coloresqa  
nin, "Ama hap'iywaychu! Ripullasaq! Wañuchiwanman.  
Kunan chay hermanoykikunataq kacharparipun.  
Hinataq kunan mayuman chanqasunki. 'Qolqeta qoway!'  
45 nisunki. 'Mikhunata qoway!' nisunki. Hina mana  
imaykipas kanqachu qonaykipaq. Noqa chaykunata  
qosayki. Ama wañuchiwaychu! Kunan papaykita  
ninki, 'Noqa hap'irqoni!' nispá ninki. Hinaspa  
wataykuwanki ñoqataqa ama nisiu fuertetachu, hinaspa



- 50 ñoqaqa pasasaq, hina mayuman waykusaq," nin hina.  
 Hinaspa, "Ya," nispá nin hina.  
 Papanqa qhepantin paqarin hamun.  
 "Kay kaq waway kaq hap'irgon! Qankuna kunan ripuychis  
 maytapas vidaykichis vidayki maskhakuq. Noqa kay  
 55 wawaywan tiyashasaq," nin.  
 Hinaspataq maqt'itokunaqa ripun. Hinas  
 caballito de siete colores chaypi sayashan.  
 Hina chay runaqa hamun hina. Hinaspa nin, hinaspataq  
 nin, "A ver. Noqa hap'isaq kay caballito de siete  
 60 colores kasqa. Venderqosaq kayta hayk'allapipas,"  
 nisqa hina. Hinaspa hap'ishan, hap'ishan, hap'ishan  
 hinaspa escapakun. Caballito de siete colores  
 hayt'an wiraqochata hinaspa escaparun, mayuman  
 waykun.  
 65 Hinaspataq, "Ah, caballito de siete colores  
 kasqa. Con razon mikhurqan. A ver. Qankuna  
 ripuychis kunanqa!" nin hina. "Manaña hamunqachu."  
 Hina ripunku maqt'ito iskaynin wawakuna ripun.  
 Hinaspataq chanaka kaq quedakun.  
 70 Hinaspa, "Mana ñoqaqa quedakuymanchu.  
 Hermanoykuna yachasqaña. Noqapas ripusaq chikari,"  
 nispá ponchonta aparikun hina rin hina. Hina qatin  
 may karupina kan hina purin hina.  
 "Qan imaqtáq hamunki? Qanqa hap'iq kanki!  
 75 Noqayku mana hap'iqchu kayku. Qan mana imapaqpas  
 hamunayki kanchu!" nispá maqan, hayt'an. Hina mayuman  
 huk costalllapi winaykurqon, hinaspa mayuman  
 changan maqt'itota hina.  
 Mayupi tuytushan hinas caballito de siete  
 80 colorestaq aysashan. Hinaspa, "May unaymantaraq!"  
 nin. "Caballito de siete colores kunancha munayman  
 kay mayumanta aysarqonawaykita!" nisqa hina.  
 Hinaspataq, "Noqa aysashayki, aysashayki."  
 Hinaspa horqorqon.  
 85 Hinaspataq phawaylla pasallantaq hermanonpaqta  
 hina. Tarirparirgon.  
 "Yau! Wañun," chay nirqan nin. "Kausashasqanki!"  
 nispá pasaqta maqallantaq.  
 Hinaspataq caballito de siete coloresqa  
 90 chaypi kashan.  
 "A ver. Kunan mikhuymanta kashani."  
 "Imatataq hap'imuwanki?"  
 "Qoway rato. Mikhuymanta kashani," nispá  
 nisqa hermanonkunata hina. Caballito de siete coloresqa  
 95 phawan mayuta. Hinaspa, "Caballito de siete colores,  
 kunancha munayman mikhuy qowanaykita," nin. Hinaspa  
 fiambreta caballito de siete coloresqa mayu ukhumanta  
 aparqamun: allin aychakuna, papa, allinta apamusqa.  
 Hina qomun. Hinaspataq pasan.  
 100 Hinaspa, "Yau! Maymantataq kayta q'oñishaq  
 q'oñishaqta aparqamuwan kay? Ima suwakamunchu?  
 Imanantaq? Maypitaq kan?" nispá. "Ahinapas apakusun



- muchachonchispaq," nispá apan sullk'anta.  
 Hinaspataq purishanku, purishanku.
- 105 Hina chayanku huk llaqtata. Hinaspataq,  
 "A ver. Wasipaq qoway qolqeta. Maymantapas  
 horqomuy! Qoway qolqeta! Imawantap tiyasun?"  
 nispá.
- 110 Hina caballito de siete colores phawallantaq.  
 Chanaka kaq, "Kunancha munayman, caballito de siete  
 colores, kunancha munayman qolqeta qowanaykita,"  
 nispá nisqa. Hinaspataq qosqa caballito de  
 siete colores pisqa waranqata. Hinaspataq, "Kayqa!"  
 nispá qolqeta qopullasqataq, q'alata qolqentaqa.
- 115 Hermanon, hinaspataq, hinaspataq, hinapis  
 kay nin, "Kunan rantikamunki cremata. Cremata  
 rantikamunki, yana cremata. Chaywan pintarqosayki.  
 Qan kanki negroy!" hinaspa nisqa.
- 120 Hinaspataq rantiq purisqa hina wasita  
 rantikusqaku. Hinas chaypi tiyanku.  
 Hinaspataq, "Caballitoy de siete colores,  
 kunancha munayman crema qorinawaykita," nispá  
 nisqa caballito de siete colorestá. Hinaspa  
 qollasqataq cremata, hina pintarqon q'alata  
 uyanta. Q'alata uyanta pintarqon.
- 125 Hinaspa, "Wayk'uy kunanqa kay mikhuykukunata  
 wayk'un. Listota suyachiwanki almuerzopaq,  
 comidapaq," nisqa hina.
- 130 Hinas purin hina churasqa mikhuyta  
 wayk'un. Almuerzotan wayk'un hina. Hinaspataq  
 pintarqon kuraqninkunaqa uyanta q'alata makinta  
 yana zapato cremawan. Hinaspataq, "Negro!"  
 "Mi amo!" nisqa sullk'a kaqqa hinaspataq.
- 135 Hina, "Huk reinaman mayqencha huk chanqaspa  
 chayachinqa dedon ukhuman anchay kikin anchay  
 kasakunqa reinawan," nisqa hina. Hinaspataq  
 hermanonkunaga nisqa, "A ver kunan reina...reina  
 chanqaykuq kanqa, huk anillo chanqaykuq kanqa  
 chay kasakunqa chay reinawan. A ver ñoqa purisqa  
 Diosmanta mañamunki, mana Diosmanta mañamunki,  
 hinataq maqasayki," nisqa hina.
- 140 "Imanasaqtaq chikari rezasaq," nispá  
 rezayta qallarisqa.
- 145 Hina hermanonkuna purin. Hinaspataq nisqa.  
 Chanqan hina mana imapas chayanchu reinaq  
 makinmanqa. Hukkaq chanqallantaq, mana imapas  
 reinaman chanqallantaq. Hina mana imapas chayallantaqchu.
- 150 Hinaspataq sullk'a kaqta nin caballito  
 de siete colores, "Kunan qan, a ver, purinki.  
 Purisun, ñoqata sillaykukuwanki. Hina chanqaq purinki,  
 kunan qan chanqaykunki chaymi hermanoykikuna mana  
 chanqanqachu!" Hinaspa purinku.
- 155 Hinataq chanqan hukta chanqan caballito  
 de siete colores patamanta chay chanaka kaq. Hina  
 chayachin makin ukhuman.



- "Hap'iyichis, hap'iyichis, hap'iyichis!"  
 nin runakuna, guardiakuna. Hina mana hap'ichikunchu.  
 Pasakun wasinta. Rato cambiarqokun, pintarqokun  
 uyanta.
- 160 Hinaspataq mana imapas chayachinchu  
 hermanonkunaqa. Tarde chayan wasita. "Almuerzori,  
 mikhuyri, maytaq?" nin hina.  
 "Mi amo, kay kashan," nin.  
 Hinaspa hermanonkunaqa mikhun. "Mana Diosmanta  
 165 mañankichu," maqan iskayninku maqan hermanonta.  
 Hinaspa waqashan.  
 Hinaspa qhepantin paqarin kaqllataq  
 anillota rantin, hina purin. Hinaspataq purin.  
 Hina hukta choqan, mana chayachillantaqchu.  
 170 Hukkaq hermanon choqan, mana chayachillantaqchu.  
 Chanaka kaq purin. Hina caballito de siete  
 colorespi sillaykukun. Cambiarqokun. Hinaspa  
 purillantaq. Hina chanqan, chayachillantaq.  
 Chay iskayna chayachin.  
 175 Hinaspa, "Hap'iyichis, hap'iyichis,  
 hap'iyichis!" nillantaq. Mana hap'illantaqchu  
 caballito de siete colorestaq, mana hap'ichikunchu.  
 Hinaspa cambiarqokun, rato waykurqon  
 oqasqa. "Negro!" waqarin.  
 180 Hina, "Mi amo, kay kashani."  
 "Mikhuyta apamuway rato!" nisqa. Hinaspa  
 mikhuyta, aukatan mikhun. Hinaspa, hina,  
 "Mana Diosmanta mañawankichu, chikataq kunan paqarin  
 mana choqaymanchu, hina wañuchisaykin," nin.  
 185 Hinaspa, "Wañuchiwankechari," nispa nisqa  
 hina. Hinaspaqa qhari rillankutaq.  
 Hina huktan phawarin, phawarin. Choqan,  
 mana chayachillantaqchu. Sullk'a kaq choqan,  
 mana chayachillantaqchu. Mana, manaña atinmanchu.  
 190 Hinaspataq chanaka kaq purin hina.  
 Chanaka kaq purin hina nin. Hinaspa nin.  
 "A ver. Qan kaq kunan chayachinki. Allinta choqanki  
 directota," hinaspa caballito de siete colores nin.  
 "Kunan hap'isunki, hina ñoqata niwanki, manan  
 195 ñoqaga, 'Ama caballitoy de siete coloresta  
 hap'inkichu! Hinalla kanqa,' nispa ninki.  
 'Azucarta arrozawan qoripuway,' nispa ninki.  
 Noqaman qowanqa chayllata. Ama imatapas qowachunchu,"  
 nispa nin. "Qanlla hap'iwanki. Ama piwanpas  
 200 hap'iykuchiwankechu!" nisqa hinaspataq.  
 Hinaspataq hukta choqan, hina chayachillantaq.  
 Hinaspataq nin, "Hap'iyichis, hap'iyichis!"  
 nin hina hap'irqochikun pay kikin.  
 "Ama hap'ipaychischu! Ñoqa uraykasaq."  
 205 Hinaspa, "Kay caballoyta kayllapin saquesaq, ama  
 pipas hap'ipuwanchu. Hina mikhukuchun kaypi.  
 Qoripuwaychis arrozawan, azucarllatawan mana  
 imatapas mikhuqchu," nispa nin.  
 Hinaspas qomun. Hinaspa chanaka hermanontaqa



- 210 apan. Hinaspataq purishan.  
Caballito de siete colores mikhushan,  
mikhushan, runakunaqa chaqay tukuyta aplaudinku.  
Hina caballito de siete coloresqa  
ripusqa wasinta hinaspataq. Caballito de siete  
215 coloresqa allinta huk wasi ranchontin wasitaqa  
nasqa, hap'ichisqa. Hinaspataq, "Chay wasipi  
tiyanki," nisqa. Hinaspa caballito de siete  
coloresqa nas ripun.  
Hina runakunaqa, "Maytaq chaqay chika  
220 sumaq caballo? Maypitaq kashan?" nispa maskhasqaku  
waqaspa q'alan soldadokuna. Hinas mana  
willasqakuchu dueñotaqa. Hina waqaykushanku,  
maskhanku hinantinta. Hinaspataq willanku  
chay chanaka kaqman.  
225 Hina nin chanaka kaqqa, "Ama waqaychischu.  
Ama preocupakuychischu! Caballitoyga ripun  
wasinta. Papaypaq, papayman chayanna. Ama  
waqaychischu, chay wasiypi wasiy derecho ripuqmi."  
Hina mana llakikapusqakuchu.  
230 Hinaspataq caballito de siete coloresqa  
vestirukusqa huk allin wiraqochaman hina.  
Hinaspataq chay chanaka maqt'itoqa nisqa,  
"Kay direccionpin kashan. Aparqapuway kay  
cartata. Chay direccionpi tiyashan papay.  
235 Chayllawan qopuwanki," nisqa hina.  
Hinaspa caballito de siete coloresqa  
sumaq wiraqocha tiyashasqa taunitayoq allin  
sillonpi. Hinaspataq, "Noqan kani papan," chay  
nisqa hina. Hinaspa cartata leen hina.  
240 Hinaspataq, "Hamuchun. Kay haciendapin tiyayku.  
Kay wasita humunqa," nisqa.  
Hinaspataq purisqa chay runakuna kusionqa  
risqaku hina chay chanaka kaqta nisqa, "Papaykin  
waqyasunki! Haku, risun q'alantinchis. Reinatas  
245 apanki," nisqa hina. Hinaspa apan reinata.  
Hinaspataq purinku, hina banda...tusushasqaku sumaqta.  
Hinaspa hinaspataq caballito de siete  
coloresqa nin, "Kunanqa kay qolqeta qosayki."  
Askha baul baulta qolqeta qomun. Hinaspa,  
250 "Kaywan vidaykita pasanki. Manaña kunanqa  
hamusaqñachu. Waqaypas, takiypas, imanaypas, mana  
noqaga hamusaqñachu! Kay wasita qosayki, kay  
qolqeta qosayki, q'alata qosayki kay wasimantaqa!  
Kay hacienda qanpaq kanqa. Esposaykiwan tiyanki  
255 kay wasiypi. Manaña noqataqa rikuwankiñachu  
hayk'aqpas!" nisqa. Hinaspa chay maqt'itoqa  
waqaspa quedakusqa.  
Hinaspataq hermanonkunaqa chay tutaqa  
purisqaku wasita. Hinaspa wasi yanqa puñunankuna  
260 q'ala ruphasqa mikhuypas mana imapas tarichikapusqa.  
Qolqepas ni imapas kapusqañachu, hermanonqa qopun  
hermanonpaq. Hinaspataq hermanonqa chayan hina.  
"Hermanonchis kasqanpunitaq karanqa! Hermanonchispuni  
chayqa! Kunanri imanasuntaq? Pitaq mikhuyta qowasun?

- 265 Trabajanchischu? Imananchischu chayta mikhusun?"  
nispa hina. Purisqaku hermanonkuqa hermanonpaq  
qhawaq hina.  
Hinas, "Qan kaq maqaq kanki. Qan kaq  
mast'a maganki!" nisqa hina.
- 270 "Noqaqa manan nisiutachu magani,"  
nisqa hina.  
Hinaspataq paykunaqa puñunanta venderqakapun.  
Chaywan mikhunku. Mana imanpas kanñachu. Hinaspa  
hermanonqa qorin chunka solesta, hina chayllata  
275 qorin. Hinaspa hermanonkunaqa waqaspa quedakapun.  
Chanaka kaq hermanontaq allin rika chunkapun.  
Hinaspa chay kasarapakunku. Hinaspataq hermanonkunaqa  
ripunku waqaspa.
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Story 3:     The Girl and the Seven Robbers

- 1     Huk señora kasqa huk wawan huk chicapiwan.  
Wawan chicaqa kasqa chay. Hinaspa runakunaqa  
hamun hina chicamantaqa enamorakun.
- 5     Hinaspa mamantaq, "Ni ñoqamanta ni  
ñoqatataq mana enamorakuwanchu, wawaywantaq  
enamorakun! Imanaymantaq kunan kay wawayta?"  
nispa hinaspataq.
- 10    Hina huk negro kasqa chay wasipiqqa serviq  
hina. "Oye, negro, qan kunan purinki kay  
wawayta wañurqochinki. Kay cuchillowan ñak'arqamunki.  
Hinaspataq apamuwanki sonqonta nawintawan.  
Hinaspataq chayta mikhusaq ñoqa," nisqa hina.  
"P'achanta q'alata apamuwanki. Enterraykunki  
cinturonwan huk combinacionninwan huk blusallawan,"
- 15    nisqa hina.  
"Ya!" nispa kusionisqa risqa negroqa.  
Hinaspataq, "Haku, niña. Cumpleañoyki  
chayamunña t'ikakunataq apamusun festejanapaq,"  
nispas nisqa negroqa hina. "Haku!" nisqa hina.
- 20    Purishanku may selvaq ukhunta waykusqaku.  
Hinaspataq hina chay niñaqa nisqa, "Manan  
puriymanñachu. Sayk'usqa kani.  
Hina huk alqitotaq qatipakuspa mikhuspa  
purisqaku. Hinaspa t'antarayku qatipakusqa chay
- 25    alqitoqa. Hinaspataq may karupina kanku.  
Hinaspataq chayasqaku chay parte  
wañuchinanpaq. Hinaspataq, "Ya, kunan mamayki  
niwan. Wañuchisayki," nispa. "Kay cuchillota  
apachimuwarmi. Kaypi ñawiykita sonqoykita
- 30    apasaq!"  
"Manan ñoqa perdonaykimanchu wañuchiwanman  
ñoqatacha!" nin hina. Hinaspa, "Ama wañuchiwaychu!  
Mejor kay alqota ñak'arqosun. Nak'arqonki,  
hinaspa p'achayta apakapunki, hina ñawintawan
- 35    sonqonnintawan apakapunki chay alqotataq  
enterraykusun," nisqa hina. Hinaspa pasaqta  
waqasqa, qonqorikusqa hinaspataq.  
"Ya," nisqa hina alqitota hap'in,  
hinaspa sipirqon alqota, hina ñawinta sonqonta
- 40    aparikusqa mamanman hina p'achantawan. Hinaspa  
qon mamanman, hina chayachin hina.  
Negrotaqa nin, "Wañuchinkichu?"  
"Wañuchini. Kaymi sonqon kashan, kaytaq  
ñawin kashan," nispa nin.
- 45    Mikhurqosqa chay ñawinta sonqonta ñawintataq  
waqayuchasqa.  
Hinaspataq chay niñaqa tiyashasqa.  
Chay huk qaqa husk'uman waykusqa. Hinaspataq



- 50 waqan chay qaqá husk'upi mikhuymantapas  
 pasallan...
- 55 Hinaspataq chay qanchis suwakunaqa  
 waykun. Qaqá ukhupi wasiyoq kasqa chay  
 qanchis suwaqa. Chayman imaymana maquinakuna,  
 bicicletakuna, radiokuna, imaymanata suwakusqaku  
 nataqa waykun chay ukhuman.
- 60 Hinaspataq chay waqan chay niñáqa chay  
 sipasqa hinaspataq. "Imataq chaypi waqan?  
 Lloqsimuychis!" nispa waqachakusqa suwakunaqa  
 hina. Hinaspa astawan mancharikusqaku suwakunaqa.  
 "Imataq chay waqan tuta paqariqta?" nispa nisqa.  
 Hinaspataq qhepantin paqarinkamaqa tutamanta  
 pasasqa. Hinaspataq hinaspa chay sipasqa waykun  
 suwakunaq wasinta. Hinaspa loco wayk'usqa  
 suwakunapaq wayk'un. Puñunankunata mast'an.
- 65 Hinaspa payqa mikhurikun huch'uyllata mikhun,  
 hinaspa waykupullasqataq husk'unta.  
 Hinaspataq waykun hinan chay suwakunaqa.  
 Tarde chayamun hina. "Pitaq kay wasinchispi  
 kan? Chaytaq wayk'usqataq mikhunanchispaq  
 saqewanchis? Pitaq kay puñunanchiskunata mast'an  
 70 Pipunitaq kanman? Ima, imachus? Icha vigilamushawanchis?"  
 nispa hina.
- 75 Hinaspa qhepantin paqarinqa ripullantaq  
 suwaqa. Hinaspa kaqllatataq waqaspa wayk'un  
 puñunankunata mast'an.  
 Hinaspataq suwaqa tarde chayamun.  
 Hinaqa, "Pipunitaq kunan kanman? A ver,  
 paqarin qan...Ama suwakuq risunñachu. Kay,  
 chaqay orqomanta qan. Qantaq kay, chay  
 80 sach'aqmanta vigilanki! Qantaq chaqay ladomanta,"  
 nispa nisqa hina. Q'ala montonayasqaku.  
 Hinaspataq huk mamita hinalla yuraq entero waykusqa  
 wasinta. Hinaspa wayk'un. Unuta aysan.  
 Hinaspataq wayk'un. Hina puñunakunata mast'an.
- 85 Hinaspataq yastá waykurqan hina mikhuykushan.  
 Hina suwakunaqa monto qheparqakapun. Qaparin  
 chicaqa manapuni...qaparin yastá pasaqta  
 qaparipun. Hinaspataq yaqan desmayakapunpas.  
 Hinaspataq suwakunaqa nin, "Ama  
 90 waqaychu. Imaqtaq kayta hamunki kay ch'in  
 pampakunata hamunki?" nin hinaspataq.  
 "Hamuni mamaymi 'Wañuchimuy,' nispa huk  
 negroman kachamuwan. Chayrayku kaypi kashani,"  
 nin hina.
- 95 "Hina kachun. Ñoqaykuwan tiyakapunkis!  
 Hermanayku hina kanki qan. Hinaspa ñoqaykuqa  
 suwakamusqaku, ñoqaykuqa suwan kayku. Hina  
 suwakamusqaykuta apamusaykichis qanman. Huk  
 p'asñitata suwarqamusqaykichis qanpaq acompañaykipaq  
 100 huk alqotataq uywakunkis," nisqa hinaspataq.  
 Suwakunaqa purin huk p'asñitata



- suwarqamun paypaq. P'achakunata suwarqamun.  
Maquinakunata, areteskunata, alhajaskunata  
suwamusqa. Hinaspataq tiyasqaku.
- 105 Hinaspa mamanqa bruja kutipusqa hina  
chay mikhusqanmanta. Hina mamanqa hamun hina  
nin huk brujamasinta nisqa, "Waway kausashanmi.  
Kunan phawarqoy. Chay sitiopin tiyashan," nispa  
nisqa. Hina, "Qanchis wawanmi kanman," nisqa.
- 110 Hinaspa qosqa huk anillota wañunanpaq. Hinaspa,  
"Kay anillota churaykunki. 'Vendini kay  
alhajaskunata. Rantikuway, niña,' ninki, hinaspa  
rantikusunki. Hina, 'Mana qolqey kanchu,' ninqa  
hinataq, hinas regalaykunki," nin.
- 115 Hinaspa, "Ya," nispa purin hina.  
Chay suwakunaqa chay qhepantin paqaringa  
ripusqaku. Hinaspataq huk p'asnitantin payqa  
quedakullan. Hinaspa huk brujaqa, huk brujataq  
hamushasqa. Hinaspa, "Niña, rantikuway
- 120 alhajaskunata. Kay alhajaskunata vendenaypaq  
apamushani," nisqa hinaspataq.  
"A ver. Qhawarichiway. Imaynataq?  
A ver." nispa nisqa hinaspataq.  
"Kay hinan kashan. A ver. Churayukuy,"
- 125 nispa.  
"Mana qolqey kanchu," nisqa hinaspa.  
"Mana. Hina regalasayki. Kayllatataq  
regalasayki," nispas qosqa hina churaykukun,  
hinataq wañusqa aysayta tarirqapun. Hinaspataq  
p'asñantin ripun. Brujaqa phawaylla ripun hina.  
130 P'asñitataq waqan pasaqta waqan. Hinaspa suwakuna  
tardeqa hamun.  
Hinaspa, "Mana enterrakusunmanchu hina.  
Kachun kay reinanchis hina. Tiyanqa kay wasinchispi,"
- 135 nisqa hina. Hina tiyaykuchisqakupas reinatapuni.  
Q'alan dedonkunaman anillokunata churqykusqa,  
collarkunata hinaspataq. Hinaspataq chay  
suwakunaqa ripusqaku hina. Hinaspa suwakamun.  
Hina qhepantin paqaringa puñushanku. Tuta
- 140 puñushanku.  
Hinaspa brujaqa guardiakunata aparqamun  
chay suwa, qanchis suwa hap'ichinanpaq. Hinaspataq  
brujaqa nin, "Qanchis suwawanmin waway tiyashan,"  
nispa hinaspataq. Hina guardiakunaqa hap'irqapun  
hermanonta hina.
- 145 Huk señorita munay chay sipasqa tiyashasqa  
hina. Hukkaq guardia enamorarqokun. Chaysi  
wañusqaña kan hinaspataq. "Munay kay anillo,  
yau!" nispa apakarqon huk anillota hinaspataq  
150 aparikapun. Hinaspataq chay chikaqa phawarin  
wañusqamanta. Kausayta taripun. Phawarin hina.  
"Ama hermanoykunata apapawaychischu!  
Kay hermanoykunan ñoqataqa kausachiwan wañusqanmanta.  
amapuni apapawaychischu!" nisqa hinaspataq. "Noqa

- 155 más bien hermanoymanta purisaq. Carcelpi  
tiyamusaq!" nisqa hinaspataq.  
Chay huk guardiaqa nisqa, "Entonces  
ñoqawan kasarakunki hinaspataq. Hermanoykikunataq  
amana suwakunqañachu. Wak trabajota churaykapusun,"
- 160 nisqa hinaspataq.  
"Ya," nisqa. Hinaspa kasarakapusqaku.  
Hina qanchis suwataqa kacharipusqaku. Hinaspataq  
nisqa chay sipasqa, "Maypipas kachun, maypis kachun,  
frutapas, pastelkunapas kachun parteskama  
165 apaykuchimunki. Brujan mamay kutirapun. Chay  
bruja ima fruta mikhuytapas apaykamuwanman," nispa  
nisqa, "wañunaypaq!"  
Hinaspataq, "Ya," nisqa.  
Hinaspa q'alanpaq partisqa. Hinaspataq  
170 churasqa hina. Hinas chay mamanqa partiykamushan  
hinaspataq. Chay qanchis suwakunaqa sapanka  
rantiraraqakapusqaku pastelkunata, hinaspa  
mikhushasqaku hina. Choqachisqa pastelta.  
Hinaspataq brujaqa apaykushasqa.  
175 Hinaspa, "A ver, a ver! Pastelniykita apamuy.  
Partisaq iskayman," nispa.  
"Ima partiwaq? Pastelniy perdeymanchari?"  
nisqa.  
"Manan. Q'alanpaq partishani," nisqa  
180 hinaspataq partin hinataq. Pasaq imaymana  
cochinadakuna kasqa chay pastelpiqa hina.  
"Ah ha, kayta vendeyta munasqanki?" nispa  
hap'isqa chay brujataqa. Hinaspa chay bruja  
huk brujamasintaqa hap'ichillasqataq iskayninta.
- 185 "Kay mamaypuni! Kayqa, kaypuni  
wañunaypaqpas aparparichinmá!" nisqa hinaspataq.  
Chay brujaqa llant'aq ukhunpi ruphaykuchipunku  
iskaynin mamantawan chay huk brujatawan.  
Hinaspataq chay qanchis suwakunaqa asno uyapi  
190 kutipusqa. Hinaspataq huk lado asno uyayoq  
huk ladotaq manan hinaspataq alliyapusqa hinaspa  
kasarakapun. Hinaspataq sapanka qanchis suwantin  
trabajota maskhapun hinaspa chaypi trabajapusqa.
-



Story 4: The Mouse Who Outsmarted the Fox

- 1 Huk machito kasqa huk awichitapiwan. Lawata  
wayk'ukusqaku. Hinaspataq askhata wayk'usqa.  
Hinaspataq mikhusqaku. Hinaspataq ya kuskantaq  
puchusqa. Hinaspataq huk'uchaqa waykun. Hina  
mikhuyta qallarisqa wisllamanta. Chuwakunamanta  
5 mikhuyta qallarisqa. Hinaspataq purin hinataq.  
Hinaspa zorroqa chaypi sayashasqa hina.  
"Ahora kunan kaq manapuni escapawankichu! Kunan  
mikhusayki!" nispa.  
"Ama mikhuwaychu kunan! Ñoqawanqa  
10 imatataq mikhuwankiman? Chaqaypi misk'i. Munay  
lawa kashan! Chayta aswan mikhurqamuy!" nisqa  
hina.  
"Mana mikhuymanchu. Llullakunki!" nisqa  
hina.  
15 "A ver. Aparqamusayki," nisqa hina.  
Makicitonpiqa apasqa huch'uyllata. Ni qallunpaqpas  
kasqachu chay lawaqa.  
Hinaspa, "A ver. Huktawan apamuway,"  
Nisqa hina. Aparimullasqataq makicitonpi  
20 huch'uyllata.  
Hinaspataq, "A ver. Ñoqawan purisun,"  
nispa hina. Mikhushan, mikhushan. Chuwata  
aparparin, wisllakunata aparparin hina atoqqa.  
Hinaspataq hinaspataqqa yastá umanqa waykurqapun  
25 mankaman, mana lloqsiyta atipunchu uman.  
Hinaspataq, "Yau, huk'ucha, ratoncito,  
huk rumita apamuy hinaspa takaway kay mankapi!  
Mana lloqsiyta atinichu may!" nisqa.  
Hinaspataq, "Ya, "nispa phawasqa  
30 huk'uchaqa huch'uy rumita hoqarisqa hinaspataq  
chanqayta qallarisqa. Hina mana imanangepischu,  
ni suenanchinpischu mankataqa.  
Hinaspataq, "Choqaway! Imatataq  
suyashanki?"  
35 "Choqachaykitaq, manan kallpay kanchu.  
Manan atinichu!" nisqa. Hinaspataq, "A ver kay  
perqaman waqtay umaykita, escapasun," nisqa  
hinaspataq. Chay machito kaq umanman auqatachisqa  
mankantaqa. Hinaspataq hukta waqran. Hinaspataq  
40 machitoqa qaparisqa. Hinaspataq zorroqa  
escapakapusqa. Hinaspataq huk'uchaqa escapakapun.  
Hinaspataq viejitoqa awichata, "Yau,  
awicha! Rikch'ariy! Kay hinata umayta  
huspirqowan chay atoqmasiyki!" nisqa. Hinaspataq  
45 tiyarisqa hinaspa. Hinaspa sansata phukusqa.  
Hinaspataq phukun hinataq chay zorroqa escapakapun.  
Hinaspa hampin hina.  
Mikhushan huk'uchaqa. Wakmanta tupachillantaq



- zorroqa. "Qanqa engañarqowanki! Kunan mikhusayki!"  
 50 nispa.
- "Amaraq mikhuwaychu! Kunan nina para  
 chayanqa. Nina granizo chayanqa. Chaykuna  
 ruphapuwasun!" nisqa, engañarqollasqataq huk'uchaqa.  
 55 Hinaspataq, "A ver. Kunan kay husk'upi qan  
 pakakunki, ñoqataq kay husk'upi. Qanraq  
 husk'urqokuy hinaspa ñoqataq waykumusaq chay  
 ukhuta," nisqa hina.
- Hinaspa atoqqa loco husk'usqa, mikhunakunata  
 pallakamusqa. Hinaspataq chay husk'unta choqaykun,  
 60 hinas waykun. Hina huk'uchaqa tapaykun. Kiskakunata  
 aparqamun. Kiskakunata husk'ukunaman tapaykun.  
 Hinaspataq huk'uchaqa kusionqa kashan. Hinaspa  
 atoqqa semana kashan chay ukhu husk'upi. Yanqa  
 rikamun. "Achakichikichiku! Parashasqapunimari!"  
 65 nisqa. Hinaspataq huk'uchaqa kusionqa kashan.  
 Hukta yanqa rimun. "Achakichikichiku!  
 Parashallan! Imanasaqtaq mikhuymantapas?  
 Yasta, wañusaqña," nisqa hinaspataq.
- Huk'uchaqa hukta, "Aunque sea nina  
 70 granizopas, parapas kachun, hina lloqsisqa," nispa,  
 huk waqrasqa. Hinaspataq lloqsin. "Imapas  
 parasqachu ruphakushasqa. Sumaq allin ruphakushasqa!"  
 "A ver, engañarqowan. Kunanqa mikhurqosaqpuni!"  
 75 loco mikhuyta maskhasqa. Hinaspataq huk'uchaqa  
 llaki tiyaspa mikhushasqa.
- Hinaspataq, "A ver kunan engañarqowanki!"  
 "Pararqantaq. Pasarqoncha para," nispa  
 nin hina. "Ama mikhuwaychu! Kunan chay qaqay qaqay  
 urmaykamunqa. Hinaspataq kunan wanusun," nisqa  
 80 hina. "Kunan noqa kay ladomanta askhaysisaq,  
 qantaq kay ladomanta askhaysinki! Amapuni  
 kacharinkichu! Chika kaq kachariwaq hinataq  
 phawaykapun, wañuchisunkiman," nisqa huk'uchaqa  
 hina.
- "Ya," nisqa askhachishasqa p'unchay, p'unchay  
 85 chay qaqataqa. Sayk'unña.
- Hinaspataq, "Amapuni nankichu!" nispa  
 huk'uchaqa escapakapusqa.
- Hinaspataq hukta, "Imanasaqtaq?" nispa  
 90 zorroqa askhachishan chay qaqata. Hinaspataq  
 hina hukta kacharin, imapas salaykunchu qaqaga.  
 Yanqa engañarqochikullantaq.
- Hinaspa huk'uchaqa escapakapusqapuni.  
 Hinaspataq zorroqa qatirparikushallasqataq.  
 95 Zorro qatirparin. Hinaspataq huk'uchaqa  
 hap'irqochikapun. Hinaspataq zorroqa nin,  
 "Ama escapankichu! Kunanqa mikhusayki!" nin.
- Hinaqa huk'uchaqa nin, "Ama mikhuwaychu!  
 100 Unu ch'akinga!" nin hinataq. "Unu ch'akin,  
 hinataq tomasun askha unuta. Mana unuyoq,  
 unu ch'akinga, mana unu kapunqachu," nin.



105

Hinataq zorroqa tomayta qallarín unuta. Hina  
huk'uchaqa escapakapun. Hinaspataq zorroqa toman  
askhata. Hinaspataq zorroqa qatirparillantaq  
hinas phawashan phawashan hukta saltan hinas  
wañupun zorroqa.

Chaypi tukupun chay cuento.

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Story 5: The Fool Who Murdered the Carpenter

- 1 Huk warmi kasqa huk wawantin. Chay maman  
nisqa, "Imanaqtintaq chay carpintero, nisiuta  
colerachishawan!" nispalla.  
Hinaspataq zonzoga nisqa, "Mamay,  
5 colerachisunkichu chay carpintero?" nisqa.  
"Ari, colerachishawan."  
Huktan phawaykun [tape illegible] nin hina.  
Hinaspataq chay zonzoga phawan. Hinaspa,  
"Yau, imanarachispataq mamayta colerachinki!  
10 Kunan qanta waqtarusayki!" nispa. Hukta  
bombota hap'in, hinas waqtan, hinaspa wañurqochipun.  
Hinaspataq mamanta nin. Phawaykun  
mamanpaqta. Hinaspataq nin, "Mamay, manañan  
colerachisunkichu! Wañurqochinin chay carpinterota!"  
15 nispa.  
"[unclear] manaraq chayta qan wañurqochiwaq?"  
"A ver, phawasqa," nispa purin. Hinaspa  
wañusqa, leqlenninpas q'ala. Hinantin yastá  
ñanpi kashasqa. Hinaspataq huk personata hap'in.  
20 Hinaspataq, "Enterraykusun," nispa. "Ama  
pimanpas willankichu! Pakaykamusun. Haku,  
pasay!" nispa q'epichisqa zonzotaqqa.  
Hinaspataq chay zonzo, "Kaypi enterraykusun,"  
nispa enterraykuchin mamanta hinaspataq.  
25 Mamanqa ñan chay ripun wasinta, q'ala  
limpiarqon. Hinaspataq maman nin, "Kay zonzoga  
willarqonmanmin mayqenmanpas. Mejor ñoqa pakanmanta  
horqopusaq. Hinaspataq pakayurukusaq wak chikaman,"  
nin. Hinaspataq, "Qan kaypi sayanki!" hinaspa  
30 nin mamanqa zonzotaqqa. Hinaspataq zonzoga chaypi  
sayashan huk laqhay ukhupi.  
Hinaspataq mamanqa buñuelosta ruwan.  
Hinaspa buñuelosta laqhay ukhuman chanqaykun.  
Hinaspataq, "Yau, buñuelos para chayaq  
35 kasqa eh!" nispas loco tardeñan mikhullantaq chay  
buñuelostaqa.  
Hinaspataq mamanqa loco ayata hap'in.  
Hinaspataq wakman chanqarparin chay wañusqataqa.  
Hinaspataq zonzo, zonzotaq wawankuna  
40 chayamun. Hinaspa, "Papayta, manachu rikupuwanki?"  
nin hina zonzoman.  
"Ari, rikuni! Mamaytan renegachin. Chayrayku  
ñoqa wañurqochini!" nispa nin.  
Hinaspataq chayllaqa, "Haku, a ver, haku  
45 guardiaman willanki hinata," nin. Hinas aparikun,  
aparikun chay zonzota.  
Hinaspataq mamantaq nin, "Yau, zonzo,  
imapaqmi willanki? 'Ama willankichu,' nispaykitaq.  
Qantachu kunan puestoman apasunki?" nin hina.



- 50           Hinaspataq zonzoka nin, "Maymantaq,  
a ver, enterrarqanki? Haku rato rikusun  
wichay enterrasqaykita hina."
- Mamanqa huk yana anejota enterraykun.  
Chay husk'us hina waqritonmanta aysarqon.
- 55           "Yau, waqritoyoqsi tatayki karqan!"  
nispa asiykapun chay zonzoka.
- Hinaspataq, "Kayqa zonzomá kasqanqa,  
manan runachu. Hayk'a, hayk'aqta wañuchirqanki?"  
nin hina.
- 60           "Buñuelos para chayashan. Chay tuta  
wañuchini," nispa nin hina.
- Mamanqa nin, "Zonzopunin kay wawayqa!"  
Yanqa nin, "Imatataq wañuchiymun ñoqaykuri?" nin  
hina.
- 65           Chaypi chay cuento tukupun.
-

Story 6: The Soldier Who Tried to Emulate God

- 1 Huk machu soldados kasqa. "Machitoña vigilakuchun!"  
nisqa chay dueño.
- 5 Chay machitoqa machu soldadoqa nin,  
"Ripusaq chikaqa!" nispa nin hina. Hinaspataq  
ripunanña kashan.
- 10 Huk revolverllata qosqa chay chay  
kasqanmanta. Hinaspataq machu soldadoqa sowarqokusqa  
pisqa revolverta. Hinaspataq apan, q'epiriykun,  
chayta ripun, hinaspataq huk purishan nas,  
tutaña kan.
- 15 Hinaspataq huk wasita chayan. Hinaspataq  
chay wasipi alojakun. Hinaspataq chay runata nin,  
"Alojariway," nin hina.
- 20 "Chaypi puñunkiyari," nispa cocinaman  
pasaykuchin, hinaspa mikhuyta qorin. Hinaspa,  
hinaspataq mikhuykun, hinaspa ya puñupunku.
- 25 Hinaspataq askha wallpa, gallokuna  
kasqa. Hinaspataq, "Kunan tuta chaqay gallota  
wallpakunata sipirqosaq. Hinaspataq tutaña  
pasakusaq, suwarqosaq. Imatataq mikhuyman ñanpi?"  
nispa nisqa. Hinaspataq kуска tutata gallokunata  
wallpakunata hap'in. Hinaspataq sipirqon.
- 30 Hinaspataq thanaku wankuta aparikapun. Hinaspataq  
duenonta, "Ripushaniña. Qan quedakunki, ñoqataq  
ripusaq," nispa nin. Hinaspataq ripun hinataq.
- 35 Dueñon hatarin tutaña. Hinaspataq  
wallpa mana kanchu. Gallokuna mana kanchu.  
Hina phawan maskhaq. Mana imapas kapunchu.
- 40 Machu soldado kusiasqa rishan. Hinaspataq  
iskay wiraqochakuna tiyashasqa. Hinaspa,  
"Hakuchu, compañasun!" nisqa machu soldadota.
- 45 Hinataq, "Haku!" nin. Hinataq purinku.  
Hinaspataq samaykunku. Hinaspa sapankama huk  
gallota qomun mikhunanpaq. Hinaspa machu  
soldadoqa mikhushan, mikhushan.
- 50 Hinaspataq, "Haku, mejor rillasunña,"  
nispa nin. Huktawan paran pasaqtapuni parapushan.  
Hinaspataq paran hina yasta mayu ukhuman pasayaqtin,  
mana pasaykapushan.
- 55 Hinaspataq, "A ver, qankuna machitoñan  
kankichis! Ñoqqa jovencitoraq kani! Pasarakusaq  
ñoqaraq hinaspa q'epirusaykichis qankunata," nin  
hinaspataq.
- 60 "A ver. Pasay ñoqa kaqmi atiyman!"  
nispa nin Tatitoqa - chay machitoqa Tatitoqa  
kasqa hinaspataq.
- 65 "Noqaraq, qankunaqa nisiu machiton  
kankichis! Imatataq pasayta atiwaqchis?"  
nin hinaspataq.



- 50           Pasan machu soldadoqa, hinaspa huktan  
mayuqa aparikapushan. "Machitoykuna, horqorqoway  
kay mayumanta!" nisqa hinaspataq.
- "Nishaykichu? Imapaq qan waykunki?  
~  
Noqa waskuymán karkan!" nin. Hinaspataq
- 55   Tatitoqa waykun hinaspa horqorqon chay soldadota.  
Hinaspataq soldadoqa, "Noqan yanqama  
kasqani. Qan machito kaqmi horqorqokuwanki!"  
nispa. "Mikhuykusun kay wallpanchista," nisqa.  
Hinaspa mikhushanku, hinaspa ripullankutaq.
- 60           Hinaspataq huk yana ovejanmi kashasqa  
chaypi mikhushasqa hina. "Chaqay yana ovejata  
hap'irgokusun hinaspa aparikusun," nisqa  
hinaspataq.
- Machu soldadoqa nin, "Noqa ñak'arqosaq  
65   chaqay yana ovejata."
- Hinaspataq Tatitoqa nin, "Sonqontawan  
ñawinnintawan tomarqosaq ñoqaga chaytaqa nin  
hinaspa. Hinaspataq sipirqonku hinaspa  
sonqonninta horqoron. Hinaspa mikhuyurqokun
- 70   Tatitoqa. Hinaspataq aparikapunku. Hinaspa  
Tatitopiwan purishanku hinaspa q'alaña mikhuynin  
tukukapun. Mana imapas kapunchu.
- Hinaspa huk llaqtata chayanku hina.  
Hinaspataq huk reypa wawan onqosqa. Hinaspa
- 75   chay reyqa nin, chay machitoqa nin, "Noqa  
kunan wawaykita sanarqochiyman."
- "Wañunan patapiña kashan."
- "Noqa sanarqochisaq. Pagawankimanchu  
ichari askha qolqetari?" nin.
- 80           "Pagasayki hayk'ata munasqaykitapas,"  
nin hinaspataq.
- Hinaspa, hinaspataq chay machu soldadoqa  
nin, "A ver imaynallata ruwanga hina ñoqaga  
ruwallasaqtaq hinata maypipas!" nin hinaspa
- 85   qhawan hina.
- Tatitoqa nin, "A ver. Kunan apamuwanki  
alcoholta, kokata, manita," nin hinaspataq chayta  
mañan hinaspataq. Yastá wañunayashanña chay reypa  
wawanga. Hinaspataq huk cuartollapi wesq'aykun
- 90   hinaspataq huk puñunapitaq puñun machu soldado hina.
- Tatitotaq huktan kankayta qallarín chay  
señoritata. Kankayta qallarín. Hinaspataq chay  
señoritaqa kankasqa kapun. Hinaspataq Tatitota  
qhawashan machu soldadoqa. "Puñuy, niyki!
- 95   Imata qhawamuwanki?" nispa nin Tatitoqa.  
Hinaqa puñushan, hinaspa qhawashan q'alata.  
Mana imapas puñunchu. Oqarayarqopun hinaspataq.  
Kankarqon lliuta. Hinaspataq tiyarichin yastá  
pacha paqarirqomuytana tiyarichin.
- 100           Hinaspataq chay machu soldadoqa nin,  
"Yastá. Kunanga ahinallan kasqa kayqa ñoqa kunan  
ruwasqa," nisqa.



- Hinaspataq Tatitoqa nin, "A ver,"  
 105 takan pacha punkuta hinaspa, "apamuway p'achata  
 señoritapaq," nin, hinaspataq machu soldadoqa nin  
 phawan oqasqa hinaspataq. Tatitoqa tiyarichin.  
 Allin kaq señoritata pacha entregapun papanman hina.  
 Pagan qolqeta.
- ~ Hinaspa, "A ver. Kunan kay qolqeta qosayki.  
 110 Noqa ripusaq kunanqa. Manaña qankunawan  
 companaykichismachu," nin hinaspa. Hinas purin.
- Hinaspataq huk reypa wawan onqon,  
 onqollasqataq. Hinaspataq machu soldadoqa nin,  
 115 "Noqa kunan wawaykitaga hampirqosaq. Noqa yachani,"  
 nispa. "A ver. Churaykapuway huk pisco botellata,  
 kokata, manita," nin hina.
- "Ya," nispa churaykapun.
- Hinaspataq machu soldadoqa kankayta  
 qallarín señoritataqa vivota pacha mana yachaspa,  
 120 Hinaspataq qaparín señoritaga. Hinaspataq yasta  
 kankarqapun. Mana imapas tiyarinchu. Polvopi  
 tukurqapun. Hinaspa waqayta qallarín machu  
 soldadoqa.
- Papankunaqa, "Yastachu waway?"  
 125 "Yasta."  
 "Horqomuy rato wawayta!" nispa nin.
- Hina machu soldadoqa waqashan hinaspataq.  
 "Imapaq metekurqani? Imapaqmi kankarqonsi?" nispa  
 nin.
- 130 Hinaspataq yasta wañuchinapaq aparikapun  
 kуска plaza wañuchinapaq. Hinaspataq iskaynin  
 machitokuna, Dios, Diosqa urakamun. Hinaspataq  
 purishan chayta.
- "Chaqay machitoykunapiwanpuni ruwarqani!  
 135 Chaqay machitoypuni kaytaqa ruwachiwan," nispa nin.  
 Hinaspataq machitokuna yastaña wañuchinan patapiñan  
 kashan.
- Hinaspataq, "A ver, a ver, ñoqapunin  
 140 kayta kunan ñoqa chay señoritata entregasayki  
 yaqta. Amaña wañuchiychu!" nispa nin. Hinaspa,  
 "Ahinata pagankimanchuri?" nin hina.
- "Pagasayki hayk'atapas, a ver.  
 Tiyarichiy!" nin.
- Hinaspataq tiyarichin. Chay tutaqa  
 145 kaqllatataq mañaykun. Hinaspa kankayta qallarín  
 hina polvota. Hinaspataq yasta pacha paqariytaña  
 señorita tiyarichipushan.
- Hinaspa, "Zonzo, imapaq metekurqanki?  
 150 Qan ima yachasqaykitaga metekurqanki kaykunapi?  
 Chay hinata wañuchinaykipi ñoqa salvayki!" nin  
 hina. "Kunanqa amaña imapipas metekunkichu!  
 Kunan kay qolqeta qosayki, huk wasitawan rantipusayki.  
 Trabajakunki hinaspa chaywan may familiaykikunawanpas  
 tiyanki," nin, hinaspataq. Machu chay reyqa



155 kusiſqakapun ſeñoritapiwan, wawanpiwan.  
Hinaſpataq machu ſoldadoqa waſinta ripun.  
Tatitoqa ripullantaq. Chaypi chay cuento  
tukupun.

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Story 7:     The Man Who Would Be Good, and the Man Who  
Would Be Bad

- 1     Iskay runita viajeros kasqa. Chay viajero,  
huk viajero nisqa, "Haku viajsun!" nispa.  
Hinaspataq compañakusqaku, iskayninku hina.  
Huk tratota ruwasqaku. "Noqa negron fino  
5     fino kasaq, qantaq bueno fino fino kanki,"  
nisqa.  
Hinaspataq bueno fino fino kaqtaq  
fiambreta apakusqa. Hinaspa chay fiambretaqa  
sapa samaykuypi mikhusqaku. Hinaspataq bueno  
10     fino finoqa fiambrenta tukupusqa. Hinaspa  
manan imapas mikhunanpaq kasqachu.  
Hinaspa viajashanku mana unupas  
tarikunchu imapas hina. Purishanku hinataq  
negron fino finoqa pakallapi fiambrenta  
15     mikhurikun, mana buen fino finomanqa qonchu.  
Hinaspataq negron fino finoqa nin,  
"Chaqay atoq kashan. Chay atoqman phaway  
qechurqokuy chaqay aychata!" nin hinaspataq.  
Phawan buen fino finoqa hinaspataq.  
20     Purin hinaspa ch'utirqon qaritallanta aparikamun,  
aychantataq qoykun atoqman. Mikhurqokun atoqqa.  
Hinaspataq, "Ah, zonzo, eh!  
Aparikamuwaq aychanta qarantataq wikch'uwaq!  
Imapaq apamunki chay qaranta? Mikhunkichu?"  
25     nin, k'ipirikun. Hinaspa, "Haku, haku, purisun!"  
nin hina. Chaykamataq fiambrenta mikhurqoshan  
negron fino finoqa.  
Hinaspataq purishanku hinaspa.  
Wakmanta rikullantaq condorta hinaspataq.  
30     "Chaqay condorman phaway qechurqomuy chaqay palomata!"  
nin hinaspataq. "Chayllatapas maskhanki  
qarqokunki!" nin hinaspataq. Aparqon hinataq  
nin purin hinaspataq phurunkunata ch'utirparin,  
hinaspa condorman qoykupullantaq chay aychataqa  
35     hinaspataq.  
Hinaspa, "Ah, zonzo, eh! Aparakamuwaq  
chay aychantaqa! Imapaqtaq ch'utirqospa  
qoykullankitaq?" nin hinaspa.  
"Noqa hinapas, ñoqa hinacha yarqaymanta  
40     kashan," nispa, "qoniyari," nin hina.  
"Haku, haku, purisun rato! Tardeyasun,"  
nispa purillantaq hinaspataq. May karupiñan  
kanku.  
Hinaspataq chunka patapi animalkuna  
45     maqanakushasqaku. Hinaspataq, "Chaqay  
misk'illatapas aparqakamuy. Chayta, chayta  
mikhuspa purinki viajepi!" nispa nin hinaspa.



- Negron fino finoqa loco mikhun fiambrentan,  
 50 qorinchu imallatapas. Hinaspataq buen fino finoqa  
 nin phawan hinaspataq. Rumiwan takayta qallarín  
 sapankaman qomun chankakataqa, payqa mana  
 mikhullantaqchu. Hinaspataq hukllata huk  
 masallata aparikamun hinaspataq.  
 Mal fino finoqa nin, "Yau, zonzo!  
 55 Imapaqtaq qonkiri chaypi tiemponchista pasashanchis,  
 apakamuwaq mikhunaykipaqqa?" nin hina.  
 "Noqa hinacha kashan chay animalkuna.  
 Haku, haku!" nispa nillantaq.  
 Hinaspaqa purishanku, hina huk llaqtaman  
 60 chayan. Hinaspaqa qaritanta venderqokun.  
 Hinaspataq chaymanta t'antata rantirikun hinaspa  
 mikhuspa purishanku hinaspataq.  
 "A ver, kay reypaq chaypi empleyaykukuspa,  
 ñoqa cocinero waykusaq," nin negron fino finoqa.  
 65 Buen fino finota nin, "Qantaq chaypi dispensero  
 kanki," nin hinaspataq.  
 "Ya, " nispa, waykunku hinaspataq.  
 Waykun hinaspataq gananku qolqeta hinaspataq.  
 Negron fino finoqa nin, "A ver kunan,"  
 70 patronninwan willaykun, "bueno fino fino nishan,  
 'Ya, ñoqaqa huk p'unchayllapi tukurqoyman  
 chaqay cebadata rutuypi, qankunaqa nichá  
 atiwaqchischu!" parlashanri.  
 "A ver kunan ruwarqonqa chay hinata huk  
 75 p'unchayllapi chaqay tukurqonqa!" nin hinaspataq.  
 "Ya," nin hinaspa. Negron fino finoqa  
 kusionqa kashan wikch'uruchinanpaq hinaspataq.  
 Bueno fino finoqa, "Hayk'aq nirqani,  
 ninichu? Yanqa niy!" nispa nin hinaspa.  
 80 Waqashan hina. "Atiyman tukuyta huk p'unchaypi  
 chaqaytari?" nin hinaspataq.  
 Chay animalkuna ghankaka...Chay animalkuna  
 taripamun hinaspataq. "Noqayku yanapasaykichis.  
 Qan mana atispa maqanakushasqayku hinaspa  
 85 qowankichis kay chankakata," nispa nin chay  
 animalcitokunaqa. Hinaspataq loco rutun,  
 hiiuuuu manay huk sapallan trabankus hina  
 animalkunaqa ch'ullamanta ch'ulla yasta huktan  
 rutuyta qallaripushanku. Hinaspa huk p'unchaypi  
 90 tukun. Manaraq huk p'unchay q'alata tukurqon  
 cebadata hina.  
 "Yau, atinpuni! Imaynatataq atirqon  
 chay huk p'unchayllapiri?" nispa qhawan hinaspataq.  
 Hinaspataq buen fino finotaqa nin chay  
 95 animalkuna, "Qanqa levantaykullaytaq imatapas  
 hina payta wikch'uruchinki!" nin hinaspataq.  
 "Levantaykusaq!" nispa puriripun hinaspataq.  
 Purin, hinaspa nin, "'Noqa,' chay mal  
 fino fino nishan, 'señoraykiq almohadanta  
 100 suwarqoyusaq,' nishan. Suwarqonqas!" nin hina.



"A ver suwarqowachun, kunitan suwarqowachun, kunan tuta suwarqowachun!" nin hinaspa.

Negron fino finoqas, "Imaynataq suwarqosaq?" nispa nishan hinaspataq. Hukta  
105 chanqan huk rumita chay wasi pataman hinaspataq.

"Chay, chay, chay kashan negron fino fino!" nispa phawanku hina. Imapas kanchu.

Hinaspa wakmanta chanqallantaq, hinas hukta patronninga lloqsirqamushanankama waykurqon,  
110 hinaspa almohadanta suwarqon.

Hinaspataq chay qhepantin paqaringa, "Kay almohadayki kashan," nispa entregapullantaq suwarqon.

Hinaspataq negron fino finoqa nin, "Bueno fino fino nishan, 'Warmiykita...warmiykiq  
115 ususintas wacharqachisaq!' nishan," nin hinaspataq. "A ver. Kunan wacharachinqa!" nin hinaspataq.

"Kunan tuta, a ver, wacharachichun chay ususiyta," nispa, churaykun huk cuartopi  
120 hinaspa ususintawan.

Hinaspa buen fino finoqa manchasqa kashan. Waqashan. "Imaynatataq wachachisaq huk  
tutallapi?" nispa waqashan hinaspataq.

Condorqa hamun. Hinaspa, "Yau, amigo! Qan riki huk kuti mana atisharanichu mikhuytari  
125 qoriwarqanki?" nin hina.

"Noqapuni karganki," nin hina.

"Ima nisunkitaraq chay patronniyki?"

"!Wacharqachiy," nishawan, nin.  
130

"Noqa phawasaq kunan, runtuyta aparqamusaq hinas chayta churaykunki," nin hinaspataq. Pasan  
condorqa, hinaspa aparqamun runtunta. "Lliullawan churaykuy!" nin hinaspataq.

Churaykun hinaspataq, Puñunan ukhuman  
135 hinaspataq. Pacha paqariytana kashan hina.

"Cuidanki! Makilla hinas waqanqa pacha wawa," nin hinaspataq. Pasan ripun  
condorqa.

Hinaspataq negron fino finoqa pasaqta kusikushan. "Imaynatataq wachachinman huk  
140 tutallapiri?" nispa nishan.

Hinaspataq buen fino finoqa nin. Hukta waqarin wawaqa qaparin waqarin. Hinaspa chay  
señoritaqa tiyaripushallantaq wawanmanta hinaspataq.  
145 Hukta takan punkuta hinaspataq. "P'achata apamuychis wawapaq! Yasta! Wachanna warmiy!"  
nin hinaspataq.

"A ver, wachayta wachanmanchu qanpaq?" nispa phawarin. Hinaspa wawa waqapushasqa  
150 hinaspataq. Negro fino finoqa, "Imaynataqpuni hina lloqsichiyman?" nishan hinaspataq.

"Qanpas levantaykullaytaq," nin.



- 155       Hinaspataq bueno fino finotaqqa  
 nin, "Chay sacristanniykitas kunan negron fino  
 fino, 'Suwarukusaq.' nishan. 'Ni pipas  
 atinmanchu suwarqoyta chay sacristantaqa.'"
   
nin hinaspa.
- 160       "A ver, suwarqonqa sacristanta. Kunan  
 tuta suwarqollannataq," nin hinaspa suwarqon.  
 "Imaynatataq kunanri suwarusaq?"  
 "Amapuni suwachikunkichu! Chikataq  
 suwachikuwaq, wañurqochisayki!" nin hinaspataq.
- 165       Negron fino finoqa chaypi kashan  
 hinaspataq. Kuska tuta chayta negro fino  
 finoqa qapariyta qallarín, "Sacristan, Tatiton  
 kachamushawan. 'Aparqamuway chay sacristanta!'
   
nishan. Mana chayqa wañuchisunki. Paqarin  
 apallasayki, escalera escalera seqanankama pisi  
 imaynatataq horqosayki kaymanta, sayk'usaqchari,"
   
170       nispá nin hinaspataq.
- Sacristanqa nin, "A ver. Hinapis ripusaq  
 chikaqa," nispá nin.
- 175       Huk cajonman tiyaykuchin hinas q'epiyta  
 qallarín escalerata uraqan, lloqsín uraqan  
 hinaspataq. "Pasaq seqaymi, imanasuntaq chikari?  
 Kaypi samaykusun," nispá samaykullankutaq hina.  
 Nipuni maytapas kaq patiollapi muyuykuchikushan  
 chay sacristantaqa.
- 180       "Cielotachu seqashani?" nin sacristanqa  
 hinataq.
- Yastá pacha paqariytaña hinaspa negron  
 fino finoqa, "Kaypi kashanki! Phawasaq. Kunan  
 chayanchisna. Tatitoqtas phawasaq kunanqa.  
 Waqarqamusaq," nispá nin. Kaypi kashanki.  
 185       Ama phawarukunkipischu!" nispá nin. Hinaspa  
 pasan hinaspataq.
- "Ya esta, patroncito! Suwarqonin  
 sacristanniykita!" nispá willarqamun.
- 190       "A ver, imaynatataq suwarqachikunmanri?"  
 nispá purinku hinaspataq. Chay suwarqochikun  
 hinaspataq.
- Huktan, "Wañuchisaq!" nispá aparikapun  
 sacristanta hinaspataq.
- 195       Negron fino finoqa pasakapun, escaparakapun.  
 Hinaspataq wañurqochipun sacristanta hina.
- Negron fino finoqa suwayta suwakuyta  
 qallaripun. Hinaspataq suwakun bancokunamanta  
 qolqeta suwarukun. Trampakunata churaykun  
 nipuni hap'inchu chaymantataq negron fino finotaqa.  
 200       Hinaspataq negron fino finoqa huk amigota  
 maskhakun. Hinaspa chay amigopiwán suwakuyta  
 qallaripunku hinaspataq. "Huk bancota waykusun,"  
 nispá. "A ver kay trampata churasun," nispá.
- 205       Hukta, "A ver, kaypi suwarqosun kayta hina chikataq  
 urmaykuwaq cuidadollawan," nin hinaspataq.



huktan purishanku hinaspa suwarqomunku hinaspa  
mana imanakupischu hinaspataq.

210 "Ama kunan tutaqa lloqsisunchu maytapas!  
Kunan maskhashawanchis. Kayllapi kasun. Chikataq  
qan lloqsirgowaq hina trampapi hap'ichikuwaq!"  
nin hinaspataq amigontaq negron fino finoqa hina.

215 Hinaspa puñushanku, negron fino finoqa  
puñurqapusqa. Hinaspataq amigonta ch'inlla  
lloqsirgon hinaspa purin suwakuq chay bancota  
hinaspataq. Huktan t'impuchiq cilindroman  
waykun.

220 Hinaspataq negron fino finoqa, "Amigoy  
maypitaq?" nispa pasallantaq chaytaqa hinaspataq.  
Ya esta, ukhupina kashan, umallan ukhurimushan.

"Imanasuntaq chikari?" amigon.  
"Kunan umallaykitanan aparikapusaq  
cuerpoykitaq quedakapunqa."

"Imanaymantaq?"  
"Kuskanmanta aparqapusayku umaykita,"  
225 nin hinaspataq. Waqan hinaspa apakarqon  
kuskanmanta hinaspa aparikapun hinaspataq.

230 Guardiakuna hamun hina nin, "Yasta!  
Negron fino finota hap'inchisna kunanqa! Mana  
imapas suwanqanñachu. Wañun kunan!" nispa nin  
hinaspataq.

235 Amigonta p'unchay, p'unchay khatatatakushan  
caballopi callen callenta hinaspataq. Negron  
fino finoqa nin, "Amigoy, imasasaqtaq chikari?"  
nispa, amigonta librayta qallarín hinaspataq.  
Negron fino finoqa nin, "Imaynatapuni kunan?"  
Iglesia punkupi churaykun amigonta.

240 "A ver," hinas huk brujotaq nin, "mayqenchus  
'Ayyyyy' ninqa hina chaymi chay negron fino finoqa.  
Chikata escapachiwaqchis, escapakuchillanqapuni,"  
nin hinaspataq, "negron fino finoqa."  
Qayllaykun amigon hinaspa. "Ayyy!"  
nillantaq hinaspataq.

245 "Chaytaq negron fino finoqa, anchaytaqqa!"  
nispa nin hina. Hap'in, hinaspataq kuchuyurqokun  
navajanwan makinta hinaspa.

250 "Imamantataq hap'iwankichis? Noqa  
negron fino finochu kani? Khaynatan makiytan  
kuchuykukuni. Chayraykun noqaqa 'Ayyyyyy' nikushani!  
Imamantataq noqa llakikuyman?" nin hinaspataq.  
Guardiakunaqa kacharipullantaq.

"Chaytaq karqan! Imapaq kacharinkichis?"  
nispa nin brujoqa.

255 Hinaspataq iglesiaman waykunallankupaqtaq  
hinaspataq negron fino finoqa abrigoyoq waykun  
hinaspataq.

"A ver, chay huk runa waykunqa qhepata,  
chay kaqta kuchurqonkichis abrigonta. Hina hinallan  
waykurqan lloqsinanpaqtaq hap'inkichis," nin hinaspataq.  
Negron fino finoqa reparakun kuchusqantaqa



- 260 hinaspa negron fino finoqa sapanka abrigota  
kuchuyta qallaripushallantaq, amigonkykunaqta,  
q'alanpaqta hinaspataq. "Kayllataq, ñoqachu  
kargan?" nispa q'alanpaqta abrigon kuchusqa  
kapushasqa. Paytaqa manan hap'ipullantaqchu
- 265 hinaspa escapapullantaq hinaspataq.  
"Imaynatapuni kunan librayman?"  
nishan amigonta hinaspataq. Purin hinaspa.  
Negro fino finoqa huk alqitota suwarqokun mansitollata  
hinaspataq. Huk asnitotan rantirqokun hinas
- 270 chaypi cargan. Habitota sirayta qallarín hinaspataq;  
askhata habitotaqa hinaspataq.  
Huk machitoman vestirqokun taunitayoq.  
Machito purishan viajashan negron fino finoqa  
hinaspataq. Guardiakinata nin, "Wiraqochakuna,
- 275 alojariway. Negro fino fino kan ninkutaq.  
Alojariway mana chayqa wañurqochiwanmanchari!"  
nispa nin negron fino finoqa. Pay kakushan.  
Hinaspataq waykun.  
Hinaspa, "Mana alojaykimanchu! Lloqsiy,
- 280 lloqsiy! Imaqtaq waykunki?" nin hinaspa.  
"Alojarillaway. Mana chayqa kanchu,  
culpayoq kawaqchis mana alojayasqaykichismanta!"  
nin hina.  
"Hinapis alojashun," nispa. Tiyaashanku
- 285 hinaspataq alcoholta qomun.  
"Wawamasqiykuna, qankunaqa chirisqacha  
kashankichis. Noqa hina chirisqacha kaypi  
kashankichis. Tomaykuriychis alcoholta," nispa  
sapankama tomachin. Hinaspa tomachisqankama
- 290 ukyarqapunku guardiakunaqa hinaspataq.  
Negron fino finoqa habito ch'utiykapushan  
guardiakunaman hina habitota churarqon hinaspataq  
amigontaqa aparikapun hina kuskamanta amigonta  
hinaspataq enteraykun hinaspataq. Jefeñ hamun chay
- 295 guardiakunaqtaq hinaspataq. "Yau, ima nispaq  
chay negron fino finowan ch'utiyuchikunkichis?  
Kunan castigasaykichis!" nispa castigayta qallarín  
hinaspataq. Negron fino finoqa enteraykapun  
hermanonta hinaspataq. Castigasqa kapun chay
- 300 guardiakuna hinaspataq. Negron fino finoqa  
ripun. Manaña suwakapunchu wak lado llaqtata.  
Hinaspataq amigonta librapun.  
Chaypi chay cuento tukupun.

Story 8: The Traveller and the Karisiri

- 1 Huk viajeros kasqa. Viajashasqa iskay alqitontin.  
Huk karisiritaq chaypi, runa wañuchi karisiriqa.  
Viajero viajashan. Hinaspa alqonkunaqa rikurqon  
wikunata hinaspataq. Alqonkunaqa qhepanta  
5 qatirparikapun. Hinaspa ripun iskaynin alqonkunaqa.  
Runitaqa quedakapun qhepapi hinaspataq.  
Karisiri lloqsin, lloqsimun. Hinaspataq  
chay karisiri nin, "Ahora, amigo, kunan wañuchisayki!"  
"Chaypi tiyay," nin hinaspa. "Amaraq  
10 wañuchiwaychu! Wayñitoyta takiyukusaq. Hinaspa  
wañuchiwanki," nin hinaspataq.  
Takin, "Mayaykarisa kaqkau! Tomaykarisa  
kaqkau!" nispa alqitonta waqan.  
"Chayraqchu qanpaq takiyniy kanman?  
15 Pitataq waqashanki?" nin.  
"Manan pitapas waqanichu! Hinapuni  
takiyniy!" nin hinaspataq.  
Hukta alqonkunaqa, wheeeeeyu, phawarimuncha  
orqo patamanta hina. Hukta, "Dale hijita!" nin  
20 alqonkunata hinaspataq hap'ichiyta qallarín  
karisiri.  
Hinaspataq, karisiriqa, "Ama mancharikuway!  
Manan wañuchisaykichu! Kacharipusayki! Ama  
mikhuchiwaychu!" nispa nin hina.  
25 Mana kacharichinchu hinaspataq wañurqochipun  
hinaspa enterraykun. Hinaspataq chay karisiriqa  
wañurapun. Hinaspa purin. Karisiriq mikhuynin,  
qolqen chay laqhay ukhupi kasqa. Hinaspataq  
horqorqon qolqenta. Horqomun asnitonta. Hinaspa  
30 asnitonmanta horqorqon. Hinas khuyukuspa ripun  
viajeroqa alqitontin. T'antata qorin alqitonman,  
mikhukuspa ripun.  
Chaypi chay cuento tukupun.
-



Story 9: The Poor Brother and the Rich Brother

- 1 Iskay hermanos kasqa, huk kaq ambicioso, huk kaqtaq  
pobre. Hinaspa pobre kaq mana ima hallp'apas  
kasqachu, huk ladi tollapi tiyakusqa mana uywanpas  
kasqachu. Hinaspataq hermanon kaqtaq askha uywayoq  
5 hinaspa hermanonpaqta purin. "Hermanito, qoriway  
wirallatapas lechellatapas huk chikanta wayk'urqokunaypaq,"  
nin hinaspataq. ✓  
"Manan. Noqapaq pisiy kashani.  
Mana mikhunaypaqpas imaypas kanchu. Mana imaypas  
10 kanchu. Trabajakuwaq ari!" nispa nin hinaspataq.  
Ripun wasinta hinaspataq nin esposanta,  
"Manan imatapas qoriwanchu. Trabajakuq purisaq,  
michipakuq. Maytapas purisaq?" nin hinaspataq  
michipakuq purin.  
15 Hinaspa purishan cuestataña seqarukushan  
hinaspataq. Tatito tiyashasqa. Tiyashasqa hinaspataq  
nin, "Maytataq purishanki?" nin hinaspa.  
"Purishani michipakuq. Mana imapas kanchu  
wayk'unaypaq," nin.  
20 Hinaspa, "Amaña puriychu. Kutipunki  
wasiykita," nin hina.  
Hinaspa, "Imaynataq kutipuyman? Mikhuymanta  
wañuykuymanchari!" nin hinaspataq.  
"Manan wañunkichischu. Kay t'ikata,  
25 kinsa t'ikata qosayki. Hinaspa kunan chayanki!  
Hinaspa lauqarqonki kanchakunata. Hinaspataq  
chaypi sapanka t'ikata churaykunki hatun kanchata,"  
nin hinaspataq. Kutipun hinaspataq.  
"Imaqta kutimunki? Trabajoyoqchu  
30 hinas purinki qan?" nin.  
"Manan puriymanchu. Tatiton qowan kay  
kinsa t'ikata. Kunitan kanchata lauqasun. Rumita  
apamuychis rato!" nispa lauqayta qallarín hinaspataq.  
Plantayta qallarín chay kinsa t'ikata. Hinaspataq  
35 rezanku tutaqa. Hinaspataq puñurqapusqaku.  
Hinaspataq, "Nauu," nispa wakakuna, torokuna,  
wakakuna shhhhheuu wacharapushan pasaqtapuni, ovejakuna,  
llama hinaspataq.  
Hermanon qhawarimun. Hinaspa, "Yau,  
40 maymantataq chaqaykunari michinata hap'irakamunchu?  
Suwakamunchu? Imanantaq? Noqapaqpas pisi kakushan  
hallp'a," nin hinaspataq.  
Paykuna rikch'arin hinaspa. Hinaspa,  
phheehhuueeu phawan lecheta ch'auwan. Chayta  
45 wayk'urqokun.  
Hinaspataq hermanonga, "Maymantataq  
chaykunata conseguimunki? Noqapaqpas pisi kakushan."  
"Kunitan, kunitan, apapuy," nin hinaspataq.  
Apapun hinaspataq.



- 50 "Manan ñoqaqa, ñoqapaqchu, ñoqachu  
suwakamunichu michinatapaschu hap'ikuni!  
Ñoqaqtan kayqa tatiton qowan ñoqaman," nin  
hinaspataq.
- 55 "Imaynataq qosunki? Manan pipas  
qonmanchu kay tukuytari huktacha huk wakatacha  
qorisunkimanpas! Chay tukuytaqa qosunkimanchu?"  
nin hinaspataq. "A ver, ñoqa purisaq. Imaynatacha  
qowanqa ñoqaman?" nispas purin hinaspataq.
- 60 Esposanta nin, "A ver yuyu phututa  
phuturipaway, q'epiyukuspa purisaq imaynatacha  
ñoqaman qomuanqa Tatito. Chikataq manan qomuanmanchu  
wanurqochisayki!" nin hermanonta.
- 65 Hinaspataq purin, hinaspa cuestataña  
seqarqoshan. Hinaspa Tatito tiyashasqa. Hinaspa,  
"Yau, erqecha! Cheqaqchu qorqanki hermanoyman  
kinsa t'ikata?" nin.
- "Qonipuni!" nin.
- "Imayna, imapaq qorqanki?" nin hinaspataq.
- 70 "Manan imanpas kanchu mikhunanpaq.  
Chayrayku qoni," nin. Hinaspataq Tatitoqa nin,  
"Qanpaqta imataq faltasunki?" nin hinaspa.
- "Ñoqapaq faltan... Mana imaypas kanchu.  
Huk chikalla animalniykuna kan," nin hinaspataq.
- 75 "Imayna huk chika kanman? Askha kan  
qanpaqtaqa! Qan rico kanki. Hermanoyki mana  
imayoc," nin hinaspataq. "Ima kaqmantataq  
pisi kanki?" nin hinaspa.
- "Qolqa kaqmanta pisi kani," nin hinaspataq.
- 80 "Chika qolqeta qosayki," nin hinaspataq  
qomun qolqeta hinaspa. "Wasiykitaña chayashanki,  
hinaspa watayukunki umaykiman. Hinaspa t'akakuspa  
purinki qolqeta," nin hinaspa Tatitoqa.
- Hinaspataq, "Ya, ñoqa purisaq chikaqa,"  
nin purin hinaspataq.
- 85 Ya wasintaña chayashan hinaspa. Watayukun  
umanman hinaspataq. Hukta phawarin, taruka  
phawaripushan pay, chay ambicioso! Hinaspataq  
hermanon phawan. Hinaspataq phawarin hinaspa  
wasinta chayayta munan. Hinaspa allqon...
- 90 esposan kikin pacha chhiuh warak'ayta qallarín.  
Qatirparipun. Kutiykamushallan wasinman mana  
waykuchinchu. Hinaspataq hermanon phawamun.
- Sullk'a nin, "Ima nispataq, yau ambiciosa,  
kachanki esposoykita?"
- 95 "Ñoqa mana imayoc kani, chayraykun."  
"Kunanqa waqayariy! Manan imapas kunan  
kanqachu. Hermanoyqa chay tarukapin tukurqakapun  
kunan! May chaqay p'achankunata phaway rato  
recogemuy!" nispas nin hinas hermanon. Esposanqa  
100 waqakuspa recogemun.
- Hinaspataq warak'an hinaspa chakinta,  
warak'arqon chay taruka kaqtaqa. Hinaspataq



- tarukaqa orqokunata ripun. Chaypi purimushan.  
 Hinaspataq huk viajero purishasqa hinaspataq  
 105 chay viajero. Chay tarukaqa tukun runaman.  
 Munay wasi, calamina wasi chaypi puñushasqa.  
 Hinaspa viajeroqa nin, "Yau! Chaqay wasiman  
 chayaykukusaq mayllapitaq puñuykuyman!" nispa  
 110 chayan hinaspataq nin chay hinaspataq nin,  
 "Alojariway," nin.  
 "Ay, ay chakiy p'akirparin chaqay  
 lanpa chaki, chaqay phili chaki, imapunichari?"  
 nispa nin hinaspataq.  
 "Pitaq warak'arqosunki?" nin hinaspa.  
 115 "Chaqay phili chaki chaqay lanpa  
 chaki warak'arqowan," nin hina.  
 "Cigarrowan fumaykuchisayki."  
 "Manan chaytaqa munanichu," nin.  
 "Chikaqa koka hach'iwan hanpirisayki,"  
 120 nin hina.  
 "Manan chaytapas munanichu. Hina kasaq,"  
 nin hinaspataq. "Chay puñuykukuy. Chaqay qataña  
 kashan. Chaqaypi kashan k'ispiñu. Chayta  
 mikhuyrikuy," nispa nin hinaspataq.  
 125 Horqorimun hinaspataq mikhun chayta.  
 Hinaspataq yastá puñurqapusqa chay runitaqa  
 hinaspataq.  
 Ya está. Mana ima wasipas kasqachu.  
 Chaypiqa yanqa ichhu ichhullapi puñukushasqa,  
 130 ichhuwan tapaykurisqa puñukushasqa payqa.  
 Hinaspataq rikch'arin. "Ima? May wasipichu  
 ñoqa kargani? Ima? Kaypichu kargani?" nin  
 hinaspataq. Qhawaykun fiambrentaqa. Taruka  
 akalla mikhusqanpas kasqa taruka akawan  
 135 mezclarqosqa mikhunanta hinaspataq nin,  
 "Yau! Tarukamá kasqa. Kunan rikusaq hina  
 wañurqochisaqpuni!" nispa orqon patamanta.  
 "Kuq, kuq," nispa puriykushasqa chay  
 tarukaqa.  
 140 Hinaspa, "Ima tiempoypas kannachu?  
 P'unchaymi kanpas hina ripusaq. Imatan  
 wañuchishayman ñoqari?" nispa ripun.  
 Chaypi chay cuento tukupun.
-

Story 10: The Father Who Became a Condenado

- 1 Huk runitas kasqa iskay wawantin. Hinaspataq  
koka vendeq purisqaku. Viajasqaku wasin wasinta  
hinaspataq. Viajashanku hinaspa yasta tutaña.  
Hinaspataq nin, "Yau, yau, manañan purisunmanchu  
5 estomagoy estomagoymin punkirishan!" nin  
hinaspataq.  
"Chikari imanasuntaq kay mayutaqa  
pasananchisraqtaq?" nin hinaspataq.  
"Kay mayu patallapin chikaqa puñuykusun,"  
10 nin hinaspa puñunku hinaspataq. Iskaynin  
maqt'itokunaqa puñuykunku hinaspa puñushanku.  
Hinaspataq papanqa, "Imatataq mikhuykusun?"  
nin hinaspataq.  
"Hak'ullatari pituyukusun," nin hinaspataq.  
15 Mikhuyunku hak'uta hinaspataq puñurqonku hinaspataq.  
Papanqa hukta, "Estomago nanayuan!"  
tinku wiksanka punkitatan.  
Hinaspataq nin, "Papay, imanasunkitaq?"  
"Imataq chay estomago nanaypaqri?"  
20 nin. "Imacha qanpas hina wañusaqpasyari?" nin.  
"Papa, pe, imaynataq wañuwaq? Noqaykuqa  
kaypichu quedakapuykuman? Maytataq purisaqku?"  
nin hinaspataq.  
"Wasita kutipunkichis," nin hinaspataq.  
25 Papanqa huktan wañurqapun. Aysarayashan  
hinaspa velata k'anchaykuchin. Hinaspa iskaynin  
maqt'itonkunaqa tiyashanku. Hinaspataq sullk'a  
kaq hermaniton nin, "Hermano, cuerpoymi 'ras ras  
ras ras,' nishawan," nin.  
30 Hinaspataq, "Imamantataq 'ras,ras,ras,ras,'  
nisunkimanmi?" nin.  
Hinas papanqa, "Noqatapaspas, 'ras,ras,'  
nishallawantaqmi," nin hinas tiyaripushan.  
Hinaspataq, ayyy, ponchitonta hap'in  
35 hinas pasanku mayuta chinparqonku, hinaspa orqota  
lloqsirqonku!  
Hinaspataq papanqa, "Yau, chico, kutimuy  
rato! Maytan purinki, chico?" nispa waqan hinaspataq.  
Mana karu orqo seqayta qallarín orqota.  
40 Hinaspataq qhawamun orqomanta. Hinaspa papanqa  
huk mulata mikhuyta qallarín. Mikhurqon mulata  
hinaspataq kikin wañusqanman kutiykun.  
Hinaspa tinku wiksayoq aychata tarirqopullantaq.  
Hinas maqt'itokunaqa waqan hinas chay tutaqa paqarin  
45 chay orqopi hinaspataq. Runakunaman willamun chay  
wasikunaman chayan, hinas willamun. Hinaspataq  
nin, "Papaymi wañurqon, hinataq condenarqakapun.  
Hina noqaykuta yaqa mikhuwanku hinas escapamuyku,"  
nispa nin.



- 50 Askha runakuna purin hinaspa waskhawan  
wataykurqon kunkamanta. Hinaspa enterraykun  
rumikunawan. Allinta perqaykun.
- 55 Hinaspataq maqt'itokunaqa, "Ripusun  
wasinchista. Wak lado ñanta ripusun mana chayqa  
papanchisqa condenakuspa lloqsirqamunqa hinas  
mikhurqowasun. Wak lado ñanta purisun," nispa  
iskaynin maqt'itokunaqa nin hinaspataq. Purinku  
hinaspataq.
- 60 Papanqa chayamun hinaspataq. Lloqsirqollantaq  
papanqa chay enterrasqanmanta. Hinaspataq  
purin mamanpaqta. Hinaspataq, "Chico, maqt'akuna,  
maypin kankichis? Imaqmi kutirqamunkichis?" nin.
- 65 "Maytataq? Imaynataq qanri saqemuwaq  
wawanchiskunatari? Manmantaq saqemunki? Waktachu  
purimurqankis?" nispa esposontaqa nin - manaña  
yachanchu wañusqantaqa. Hinaspataq wañusqa chayan  
hina. Allqokunaqa hap'iyta qallarín. Hinaspataq  
atacan warmin hinataq.
- 70 "A ver, pasaq chikaqa, kutisaq, aparqamusaq,"  
nin, hinaspa ripun hina huktawanpas chayanpunchu.
- 75 Hinaspa maqt'itonkunaqa chayamun waqaspa  
chayamun wasinta. Hinaspataq nin, "Mama, papaymi  
wañurqon hinaspan enterraykun runakuna. Hinaspa  
ñoqaykuqa hamuyku huk lado ñanta," nin hinaspataq.
- 80 "Imaynataq papayki wañun? Kunitallanmin  
chayarqamun ari!" nin hina.
- "Imaynan chayan? Condenarqokun ari!"  
nin hinaspa. "Noqaykuta yaqa mikhuwanku hinaspa  
escapayku, hinaspa kunan hamuyku," nispa waqaspa  
nin.
- Chaypi chay cuento tukupun.
-

Story 11: The Boy Who Fell in Love with a Toad

- 1 Huk warmicitos kasqa huk wawantin hinaspataq.  
Pobres kasqaku hinaspataq. Trabajaq purin  
wawanqa. Wak wasita ruwarqapun hinas chaypi  
trabajakun wawan. Hinaspa chaypi tiyan  
5 hinaspataq. Trabajan hinaspa huk señorita  
taripaykun. Hinaspataq chay señoritaqa sapo  
kasqa.
- Hinaspataq chaypi enamorakun chay  
chicowanpas, enamorakullantaq. Hinaspataq ripun  
10 chay tutaqa. Hinaspataq mikhuyta qorin,  
hina mana mikhuyta munanchu. Mana mikhuyta  
munanchu chay maqt'itoqa, chay jovenqa.  
Hinaspataq sapoqa chay tutaqa purin puñuq wasinta.  
Hinaspataq manchariykun chay jovenqa hinaspataq  
15 nin. Enamorakunku hinaspa pununku chay wasinpi  
hinaspataq. Hinaspa yasta kasarakuñna kasharqan.
- Hinaspataq purillantaq mamanpaqta,  
hina mikhuq purin ratolla hinaspataq. Kutiykamun  
hinaspataq. Señoritamantaqa despedikun hina  
20 purin. Hinaspa compañan señoritaqa. Hinaspataq  
kutimullantaq. Hinaspa wasinpi kashan, hinaspataq.
- Huk p'unchay mamanqa nin, "Wawayqa, imayna,  
imayna naqchā qhelli kashan? Pasaq limpiarqamusaq  
wasinta!" nin hinaspataq. Puñunanta horqoshan  
25 hinaspas q'alata puñunanta horqomun, hinaspataq  
sapota rikun chay saunananta. Hinaspataq  
saunanamanta horqorqon chay sapota. Hinaspa  
wañurqochin. Hinaspataq chanqan wasiq qhepanman.
- Hinaspataq chay señoritaqa yasta tiyarin.  
30 Hinaspa waykullantaq puñunan ukhuman. Hinaspataq  
suyan, suyan waqaspa. "Wañurqochiwaytan munan!"  
nispa nin chay joventa.
- Hinaspataq nin, "Imaynataq wañuchisunkimanri  
mamayri? Locachu? Imapaqtaq qanta chaytaq  
35 wañuchisunkiman? Kunitanpascha nirqamusaq, kunitan!"  
nin.
- Hinaspataq wawan purin mamanpaqta.  
Hinaspataq mamanqa nin. Mamanpaqta purin hina.  
"Yau, mamay! Ima?" nispa nin. "Enamoradayta  
40 wañuchiyta munarqanki!" nin hinaspataq.
- "Ima? Ima? Pita? Mayqen warmitas ñoqa  
wañuchiymanchu? Ima? Locachu kayman chayta  
wañuchiymanri? Ñoqa tarini huk sapollata chay  
puñunayki...chay saunanamanta, hinaspa  
45 wañurqochini! Chayta qhepaman chanqarqapuni,"  
nin hinaspa.
- "Sapochu? Ñoqaq enamoradaytan wañuchinki!  
Imapaqmi maqapuwanke? Imanasunkitaq? Ñoqaqa ya esta



- joventa kani. Ñoqaqa kasarakusaqmi chaywan hina  
 50 mana allinwanpas," nin hinaspataq.  
 "A ver haku mayqen chay kasqa! A ver  
 ñoqawan purisun!" nin hinaspataq. Mana imapas  
 kanchu señoritapas, imapas wasinpiqa.  
 Hinaspa, "Kaymanta tarini saunananta qhawaykun  
 55 kaymantan tarini chay sapota," nin hinaspataq.  
 Qhawarin hina huk sapollas. Chay sapo  
 wañuchisqansi chay puñunan saunan ukhupi kaq  
 kashallasqataq hina. "Kay sapotan wañuchini!  
 Kaychu warmiyki karqan?" nin hinaspataq.  
 60 Kaqchus hampisqa chaywan hampisqa kashan  
 lliu tarisqa kashasqa chay sapo. Manchariykun  
 chay maqt'itoqa hinaspataq nin purin hinaspataq.  
 "Mamay, imanaymanmi chay sapota?" nin hinaspataq.  
 "Huk p'unchay kunan ninki chay warmita.  
 65 Ama puñunkichu! Ch'upurqosunkiman," nin hinaspataq.  
 "Puñusun," nin chay sipasqa hinaspa.  
 "Maypitaq karqanki? Mamay hamuntaq!" nin.  
 Hinaspataq, "Purirqani. Chayqa wakmantas  
 wañuchiwanman!" nispas. "Purini!" nin hinaspataq.  
 70 Hinaspa, "Chay tutaqa puñusun," nin.  
 Hinaspa, "Ama puñusun, ñoqa nanarqochiykimantaq  
 heridaykita. Kay k'uchitupi puñunki, ñoqa kaypi  
 puñusaq," nispas nin maqt'itoqa hinaspataq. Puñun  
 hinaspataq.  
 75 Qhepantin paqaringa nin, "Wathiyata  
 ruwasun. Hornota perqasun hinaspa ñoqa phawasaq,  
 llant'ata pallarqamusaq. Qantaq kaypi kashanki,  
 papata limpiashanki," nin hinaspataq saqenmi.  
 Limpiarqon sapoqa papata. Hinaspataq  
 80 chay joventa kutimun hinaspa llant'ata q'epimun.  
 Q'oñichiyta qallarín. Hihichinraq hornota.  
 Hinaspataq, "Imaynatataq kunan kay hornopi  
 kankarqoyman chaqay sapota?" nispas qhawashan chay  
 joventa. Hinaspataq nin, "Hamuy! Hamuy! Kayta  
 85 qhawariyyá! Chaqay hinatapuni hihishan!"  
 "Nachu horqorqosunmanña?" nispas.  
 "Qhawaykuyyá," nin hina, ya estaña.  
 "Kayneqmantari, maymanta chaymanta  
 qhawasunman?" nispas nin hinaspa.  
 90 Hukta tanqaykun chay hornoman hinas  
 sapos kutirqapun. Sssss hatun sapos chaypi  
 hornopi kashan. Hinaspataq mancharikun. Hinaspataq  
 "Sapopunin kasqaqa. Imamantaq ñoqari karqani?  
 Imataq karqani" Sssssss, astawan pero kerosenkunata  
 95 hich'aykun hinaspa rupharachipun.  
 Chaypi chay cuento tukupun.



Story 1: The Fool Who Wasn't

- 1 Huk kinsa wayqekunas kasqa, huk kuraq kaq, chaupi  
kaq, sullk'a kaq. Sullk'a kaqsi kasqa zonzochallaña.  
Chay kuraq wayqenkuna cheqnikusqa khuyayta mamitanpuwan.  
Chay zonzoga manas imatapas ruwayta munasqachu  
5 wasillapi. Sapa p'unchay kumparayan hina.  
Hinaspas wayqenkuna nin huk p'unchay, "Yau, zonzo,  
llank'aq riwaq mayllatapas, qanqa rakranallata  
tukushanki," nispa.  
Hinaspas chay zonzochaqa huk p'unchaysi  
10 rin campota. Pampakunata purin. Chay pampapis  
huk ovejachata taripun chay zonzochaqa. Hinaspas  
kusiqa hamun zonzochaqa wasinman. Chayansi,  
ninsi mamitanta, "Mamitay, tarirakamuni chay  
ovejachata. Munakunin sumaqa wayqeykunatamanpas,  
15 sumaqtas uywayman, wayqey, chay ovejatan  
tarikamuni. Kunanqa sumaqtan chay ovejachayta  
wiñachisaq. Chayllawancha p'achakusaq," nispa.  
Hinaspas zonzochaqa wiñachinsi ovejanta.  
Hinaspas chay zonzochaqa, chay ovejaman wiñashan.  
20 Wiñashan hinaspas chay zonzochaqa allintañas  
p'achakushan. Allintañas p'achakushan sumaq  
p'achakunayoqsi kashan zonzochaqa.  
Hinaspa wayqenkunaqa contradicekullantaq  
chaytapas, chay zonzochaq prosperasqanta.  
25 Hinapis wayqenkunaqa huk p'unchay ideakunku,  
"Chay zonzori ñoqanchistari ganawasunman!  
Manan kachayqa allinchu. Huk p'unchayman  
ñoqanchis ñak'arusunchis ovejanta chay zonzogta.  
Hinaspan mikhurakapusunchis, aychantataq  
30 warkuyapusunchis wasin ukhuman!" nispa.  
Hinaspas zonzochataqa kachanku llant'aman.  
"Llant'ata, wayqey, aparamunki!" nispa. Kuraq  
wayqenkunaqa, llant'aman rishanankama, ovejanta  
sipirapusqaku. Sipirapuqtinkus, mikhuyapushasqaku  
35 uywa aychantataq, no?  
Hinaspas na zonzocha kutiramuqtinqa, mana  
ovejachanta tariqtinqa haykurun wasinta. Hinaspas  
qaparin, "Wauuuu! Pin ovejayta ñak'arapuan?" nispa.  
Hinaspas zonzochaqa, "Mamay, pin ovejayta ñak'an?  
40 Wayqeychu? Qanchu? Kunanqa ripukusaqmi chay  
qaranta q'epiriyukuspa wichaymanpas, uraymanpas,"  
nispa zonzochaqa haykun. Hinaspas mamitantaqa nin,  
"Mamitay, chay aychanwan kunanqa qoqawata ruwayapuway.  
Puriripusaqmi manan wayqeykunan envidiakuwan," nispa.



- 45 Hinaspas zonzochaqa puriripun. Huk p'unchay  
qarachanta q'epiriyukuspa puriripunsi.
- Hinaspas purinsi, purinsi, ñanpi.  
puñurapusqa, sayk'yrapusqa, no? Hinaspas  
huk halk'amari, puñurapuqtinqa, qaranta
- 50 aysarusqa umanmanta. Hinaspas q'alata t'isayapushasqa  
qarantaqa hinaspas zonzochaqa rikch'arirun.  
Rikch'ariruqtinsi, "Yau, suwa, imatan qan qarayta  
ruwayapushawanki? Kunanmi sipirusayki!" nispas,  
halk'amarita zonzochaqa hap'irun. Hap'iruqtinsi,
- 55 halk'amaritaqa sipirunsi.
- "Imataq chay halk'amaritari kunanri  
ruwasqa? Imata imamantaq, imatataq ruwayman?"  
nispas zonzochaqa piensan, no? Hinaspas  
sumaqchatas trensata paypaqqa ruwapun.
- 60 "Qanmi watuq kanki," nispas nin. "Qanwanmi ñoqa  
qolqeta ganasqa," nispas zonzocha nin.
- Hinaspas zonzochaqa puriripullantaq  
mana imayoqlla anchay halk'amarilla q'epiyusqa.  
Hinaspas huk llaqtamansi chayan. Chay llaqtapis
- 65 huk estudiante universitario kasqa. Chaypis  
alojakun.
- Hinaspas universitarioqa tapun, "Wayqey,  
iman chayniyki?" nispa. Imatan chayta q'epimunki?"  
nispa zonzochataqa tapun.
- 70 Zonzochataqsi contestan, "Wayqey,  
chay halk'amarichayqa adivinaqmi. Adivinapuykimanmi  
enamoradoyki imaynachá, familiayki imaynachá,  
qanwan portakun," nispa.
- Hinaspas estudiante universitarioqa nin,  
75 "Wayqey, adivinapuguayá! Huk enamoradaymi kan.  
Chaymi traicionayta munashawan," nispas nisqa  
zonzochataqa.
- "Bueno, wayqey, ñoqa adivinapusayki,"  
nispa. Pero manas ya ciertochu kasqa chay
- 80 halk'amarinqa suerte naqchu, no? Manas ya ciertochu  
kasqa adivinaqchu chayqa zonzollas ya ideakullan  
paylla.
- Hinaspas ya, "Huk enamoradaymi haqay!"  
nispas huk p'unchayqa visitan enamoradan.
- 85 Estudianten, wayqentin zonzochaqa chaypi kashan.  
Hinaspas, "Haqaymi enamoraday."
- "Ah, guapamá kasqa enamoradaykiqa!"  
nispas nin zonzocha. Hinaspas, "Bueno, wayqey,  
ñoqa adivinapusayki," nispas nin.
- 90 Hinaspas huk p'unchaysi chay universitario  
lloqsín. Lloqsiqtinsi huk curaqa hamusqa chay  
enamoradanwan. Hinaspas rimashanku zonzoch ladonpi,  
no? Rimashanku. "Chay maqt'aykita sipirusun.  
Hinaspan ñoqanchis revolvernintin punusunchis,
- 90 hinaspan haykumushaqtin disparasqa ñoqa, qantaqmi  
qaparinki," nispas nin rimanakushanku chay curawan  
chay enamoradan estudianteq enamoradanwanqa.



Hinaspas zonzochaqa uyarillashan.

100 Hinaspas na estudiante kutimunña almuerzo horasta. Hinaspas, "Wayqey, adivinapushayki kunanqa allintapuni," nispas nin.

"May, wayqey, adivinapuwayya kunan tuta," nispas nin.

105 "Wayqey, paqarinmi ama hamunkichu puñuq! Sipisunkiku. Huk curawanmi puñushanqa enamoradayki, hinaspan qanta disparamusunki hinaspan enamoradaykitaqmi qaparinqa!" nispas.

"Ari, ciertochu, wayqey?" nispas nin tapullantaq wakmanta zonzochataqa.

110 "Ari, wayqey, cierton! Noqa allintapuni adivinapushayki," nispas nin.

115 Hinaspas estudianteqa, imatataq ruwan? Kunan huk revolvernintinsi paypas hamullantaq, hinaspas disparasqa chay curataqa. Curamanqa sipirapusqa curataqa hinaspas warmi, chay p'asñantaqa estudianteqa maqayapusqa. "Qan traicionayta munawaranki! Imarayku?" nispas. "Kunanmi t'aqarakapusaq!" nispas.

120 Hinaspas zonzochataqa na adivinapuqtinqa, nin chay estudiante. Estudianteqa hinaspas nin, "Hayk'an chay halk'amariyki valen? Allintapuni watusqa! Hayk'atan mañakunki? Venderapuway!" nispas.

125 "Bueno, wayqey, noqa venderapusayki halk'amariytaqa pisi qolqellaman, pero valenmi. Hayk'a costalta qolqetataq qowankiri?" nispas nin.

130 "Bueno, wayqey, noqa qosayki iskay asnota qolqeta cargayukuspa. Ripunki llaqtaykiman. Chay halk'amariykiqa allintapuni adivinasqa!" nispas nin estudiante universitario.

135 Hinaspas huk p'unchayqa kacharparipun iskay asnontin qolqe q'epintin, zonzochaqa ripunsi riki. Wasinmannas chayapun. Hinaspas kusionqa, "Wayqeymanqa chay wayqeykunamanqa chay askha qolqeta apasaq!" nispas nin zonzochaqa. Kusionqa chayapushan nan chay mamanman chayanña chayashannas. Hinaspas p'unchayqa chayan.

140 "Mamay," nispas nin, "allin horacha ovejachaytaqa ñak'arapurawanki! Chayraykun kunan chay askha qolqeta apamushaykichis qankunapaq," nispas. Hinaspas wayqenkunapas festejaykunsin allinta zonzochataqa.

145 Hinaspas wayqenkunatapas zonzochaqa nin, "Wayqeykuna, qankun aswan noqamanta kasqankichis. Qankunapas llipi llipi ovejaykichis llipinta ñak'arapuychis. Noqa hina hinaspa puririychis qara cargantin haqay karu llaqtata," nispas nin zonzochaqa wayqenkunataqa



- 150 Hinaspas wayqenkunataqqa festejaspanku, wayqenkunapas  
alistakullantaq. Llipi ovejantas ñak'arapunku.  
Hinaspas paykunaqa pisqa asnopis cargariyupunku  
qarankuta.
- 155 "Wayqey, ahinata haykunki propagandata  
ruwaspa," nispas zonzochaqa nin. "'Qara en venta  
veinte mil, trienta mil soles!" nispa qaparinki  
callepi. Hinaspan askha hamunqaku rantiqkuna,  
chhachaykusunkiraqmi!" nispas nin. "Hinaspan,  
wayqey, ñoqapas hinatan ruwamurani. Noqapas  
160 hinatan pasapuychis chayqa askhataraq qankunaqa  
qolqeta apamuychis," nispas.  
Wayqenkunaqa hinatas puririyunku.  
"Bueno. Bueno ñoqanchis, wayqey, ñoqanchis  
purisun," nispa purirapunku. Hinaspas, ñas,  
165 paykunapas karupiña, karupiña chayashanku, no?  
Hinaspas chay llaqta nisqamansi chayanku  
chay kuraq wayqenkuna. Zonzochataqsi mamanwan  
tiyapun, quedapusqa.  
Hinaspas ña chay llaqtamanña chayaspanku  
170 kuraq wayqenkunaqa, qaparinsi callepi, "Cuero  
en venta, treinta mil, cuarenta mil soles!"  
nispas.  
"Carajo, como?" nispas, huk wiraqochas  
chay lloqsimun. "Imaynan qara valenman chay  
175 treinta mil, cuarenta mil soles? Noqa  
denunciamushayki municipalman!" nispas lloqsimun  
wiraqochaqa. Lloqsimuqtinsi, chay wayqenkunaqa  
q'alata fracasayapusqaku na kayllas vendesqaku  
iskay chunka solesman.  
180 Hinaspas carcelmanraqsi haykuyusqaku  
iskay killa. Hinaspas wayqenkunaqa, "Imatataq  
chay zonzori niyuruwanchis q'alata ovejanchis  
ñak'ayachiwananchispaq wakmantama chay zonzoga  
llullayakuwasqanchis! Kunanqa sipirapullasunñacha  
185 chayaspansi zonzotaqqa!" nispas. Huk cuchillota  
carcelpi iskay wayqenkunaqa ruwayukunku. Iskay  
wayqenkuna kaq ruwaqtinqa, "Zonzotaqa kunanqa  
sipiyapullasunchis, tutallapuni chayarusun  
hinaspan zonzotaqa chavetallawanña sat'irapusun  
190 kunkapi!" nispas wayqenkuna rimanayukunku.  
Hinaspas ñas carcelmanta lloqsimunkuna  
wayqenkunaqa hinaspas puriripunku carcelmanta  
llaqtanman. Hinaspas pero zonzochaqa adivinarusqas,  
"Kunan tutacha hina wayqeykunaqa chayamunqa. Aspas  
195 mamitaywan cambiarusaq puñunayta," nispas.  
Hinaspas, "Mamitay," zonzochaqa ninsi. "Mamitay,  
qan puñunaypi puñunki, ñoqataq puñunaykipi puñusaq."  
Wayqeykunachus hina kuna tuta chayamunqa," nispas  
zonzochaqa adivinarqan. Hinaspas zonzochaqa  
200 cambiarusqa.  
Hinaspas wayqenkunaqa kуска tutatas chayan.



- Hinaspas zonzog wasintaqa kichayuruspanku chay  
 cuchillowan, zonzochatacha nispa nispa  
 equivocapullasqaku, mamitanta cuchillowan  
 205 sat'irapusqaku kunkapi. Hinaspa zonzoga phawarimun  
 huk cuartomanta. "Mamitayta imapaqmi sipirunki  
 waaaaaaaah?" nispa hinaspa zonzoga. "Ima narunki  
 mamitayta? Kunanqa mamitaywancha ripukapusaq  
 q'epiriyakapuspa," nispas.
- 210 Hinaspas wayqenkunaqa, "Chay maldito  
 zonzori! Imatataq . . . ruwarachin? Mamitanta  
 sipirachiwanchis!" nispa. Hinaspas, Imanasuntaqri  
 kunanri? Quejarakamusunchischá?" Chayan zonzoga,  
 riki. "Hakuchis! Ripusunchis!" nispa wayqenkuna nin.
- 215 Hinaspas zonzoga wakmantas almata  
 q'epiriyukuspa purirapullantaq. Wakmanta puririllantaq  
 karu llaqtata. Hinaspataq zonzochaqa, "Imanasaqtaq  
 chay mamitaytari? Maymantaq empleayuyman?"  
 nispas pensapun, ñanta ñanta purishaspa. Ñapas  
 220 llaqtamansi chayan zonzochaqa. Hinaspas,  
 "Mamitaytaqa aspas imata ñoqa ruwayman?  
 Sayachisaq chaka pataman k'irayachispalla," nispas  
 zonzochaqa piensan. Hinaspas huk chakamansi  
 chayan. Chay chakaman chayaspansi, mamitanta  
 225 huk makillanwan huk makillanwan sayaykachin  
 mamitantaqa chaka patapi.  
 Hinaspas huk wiraqocha chayta hamushasqa.  
 Huk allin wiraqocha lloqsimushasqa nispas,  
 "Empleadatan maskhashani," nispa.
- 230 "Ah, entonces, wiraqocha, ñoqaq mamitay  
 llank'ayta munashan. Haqay chaka patapi sayamushan,  
 wiraqocha," nispa. "Sayamushan," nispa nisqa  
 zonzochaqa.  
 "Maytaqri?" nispa nisqa.
- 235 "Haqaypi weqhroykachashan. Hamuyyá!  
 Hamuy! Hamuy!" nispas pusan wiraqochataqa.  
 Hinaspas, "Roqt'on ichaqa," nispas zonzochaqa  
 nin.
- 240 "Señora, llank'ayta munankichu?"  
 nispas wiraqochaqa riman mamitantaqa.  
 Hinaspas, "Wiraqocha, manan uyarinchu,"  
 nispas.  
 "Carajo! Chay señorachu, manachu  
 uyarinman?" nispas chay wiraqochaqa hombronmanta  
 245 chhapchirisqa, hinaspas mamitanqa pasayapusqa  
 chaka ukhuman, mayuman.  
 Hinaspa zonzochaqa qaparisqa, "Waaaaaaah!  
 Imapaqmi mamitayta tanqayunki unuman?" nispa.  
 "Hijo, hijo, hijo, ama qapariyraqchu!  
 250 Ama policiaman denunciawanki! Hayk'atan  
 mamitayki, hayk'an valeran?" nispa.  
 Hinaspa zonzochaqa, "Wiraqocha,  
 mamitayqa askha qolqen valen," nispas nin.



- 255 "Bueno, hayk'atan munakunki? Mamitaykiri  
hayk'a valeran? Hayk'a watayoqmi karan?" nispas  
niran.
- 260 "Tawa chunka watayoqllaraqmi mamitayqa.  
Chay mamitallaymi ñoqataqa mantenewan," nispa  
zonzoga niyusqa. Hinaspa zonzochamanqa  
pagayullankutaq askha qolqeta mamitanmanqa.
- 265 Hinaspas wakmantas wayqenkunamanqa  
chayan zonzoga mamitanta chay tanqayarapuqtinqa, no?  
Askha qolqeyoq chayan wayqenkunamantaq wakmanta  
nispas zonzochaqa chayllanta, "Wayqey, allin  
horacha mamitanchistaqa sipiruranki! Chay huk  
llaqtamanmi chayani," nispas nin. "'Calavera en  
venta, treinta mil, cuarenta mil soles,' nispa,  
wayqey, chayaranin huk llaqtaman. Hinaspa  
askha wiraqochakuna ch'unkunatakuwanku q'alataraqmi  
270 venderapuni mamitanchistaqa chay tukuy qolqeman!  
Zonzoma qankuna kasqankichis! Qankunapas warmiykichista  
sipiruspa qankunapas cargariyukuspa riyichis  
venderamuychis," nispas nisqa zonzoga.
- 275 "Ciertocho, wayqey?" nispas. "Kunanqa  
ama llullaychu wayqeychay?" nispas wayqenkunaga  
tapun allinta.
- "Ari, wayqey, manan kunanqa llullakunichu!  
Ciertopuniya!" nispas nisqa.
- 280 "Bueno, wayqey, warminchista ya kunanqa  
sipirapusunchis iskayninchis."
- Hinaqa, "Hakuchis ñoqanchis purisun!  
Chay wayqenchis zonzopas chay askha qolqetaqa  
aparamusqa chayqa, ñoqanchispas askha qolqetacha  
aparamullasuntaq riki!" nispa nisqa.
- 285 Hinaspas wayqenkunaga sumaqtas warminkunataqa  
huk p'unchay ukyachinku. Ukyachishaqtinku, kуска  
tutataqa sipirapusqa warmikunata. Hinaspas,  
"Imanasaqtaqri?" nispas zonzotaqa tapun wayqeqa.
- 290 "Qankuna cargarakapuychis haqay iskay  
asnoy kashan. Chaypis sapanka hukniykichis  
cargariykapuychis. Hinaspa anchay llaqtaman ya  
chayankichis. Amaya chay huk kaqmanqa," nispas  
nisqa. "Allintapuni chay ama equivocakunkichischu!"  
nispa. "Anchayman chayankichis!"
- 295 "Bueno, wayqey," nispas nin. Hinaspas  
wayqenkunaga puririnku wakmanta, iskay asnonpi  
ayata cargariyukuspa. Hinaspa purinku purinku  
hinaspas chay llaqtaman chayanku. Hinaspas  
askha runakuna hamullasqaku riki. Hinaspas  
300 Wayqenkunaga qaparillantaq, "Calavera en venta,  
treinta mil soles!"
- "Cómo, carajo?" nispas huk wiraqocha  
lloqsiramun. "Imaynatataq calaverataraq  
qankunari vendewaqchis? Ya, guardiata waqarimunchis!"  
305 nispas nin.



Hinaspas guardiataqa waqaramusqaku.  
 Hinaspas iskaynin wayqenta detendiyapusqaku.  
 Hinaspas chunka wata wesq'ayachipusqaku carcelpi  
 asesionkunamanta.

310 Hinaspas zonzotaqi wayqenkunaqa q'ala  
 renegasqallaña. Yaqawañunkupas carcel ukhupi.  
 Hinaspachunkantin watas preso kaykunku.  
 Hinaspas chay wayqenkunaqa preso kayuqtinkuqa,  
 "Imanasuntaqsi zonzotari kunanqa? Sipirapullasunpuniña!  
 315 Kunanqamanan zonzoga kausanmannachu!" nispas  
 nisqa wayqenkunaqa.

Hinaspas wayqenkunaqa carcelpi costalta  
 awayun. "Anchay costalman winarusqapuni,  
 zonzotaqa mayuman noqanchis chanqayamusun!"  
 320 nispa. Nas, ñas, huk watallañas faltashan  
 lloqsipunankupaq carcelmanta. Hinaspas ñas  
 kan costalpas kashannaya allin awasqanñas,  
 paykunaq awasqan zonzomayuman chanqayamunanpaq.  
 Hinaspawayqenkuna ñas lloqsipunña. "Kunanqa  
 325 hakuchis, wayqey! Chay zonzoman risunchis.  
 Mayuman chanqayamusun!" nispas ripunku.  
 Wayqenkunaqa chaymanta llogsiyapunku.

Hinaspas machullannas kasqakupas wayqenkunaqa,  
 yasta zonzopas ñas machuñan kapushasqa. Hinaspas  
 330 wayqenkunaqa chayanku. "Yau, zonzo!" nispas nin.  
 "Imatataq qanri ruwasharanki? Chay warmiyta  
 sipiyuspachu allinraq chay chunka watakama  
 carcelpi tiyamuyku? Zonzo, hap'iykichu, manachu?"  
 nispas zonzotaqa costalman winarunku. Costalman  
 335 winaruspankus, zonzotaqa ninku, "Zonzo, kunanqa  
 wañupullankiñacha! Manañacha kunanqa wakmantañachu  
 renegaymanta sipiwanki? Kunanqa mayullaman icha  
 chanqayapusaykiku!" nispas.

"Bueno, wayqey, qankuna nisgaykichis  
 340 hinasri kanqa. Wañupusaq chayqa wañupullasaqñacha,"  
 nispas zonzochaga nin.

Hinaspas wayqenkunaqa puririnku las  
 chunka horas nisqa tutata. Hinaspas wayqenkunaqa  
 apankus iskayninkumanta, huknataq cargan, huknataq.  
 345 Hinaspas huk puenteman chayallankutaq. Hinapis  
 huk tiendachas k'anchamushasqa puente chinpachamantaqa.  
 Zonzotataqsi churayusqaku puente patapi.  
 "Hakuchis, wayqey, tragochata daleyaramusunchis,  
 animayaramusunchis chay zonzo chanqayamunanchis  
 350 mayu ukhuman!" nispas wayqenkunaqa tiendachata  
 trago rantikuq haykuyurunku. Hinaspas zonzotaqa  
 chaka pataman churayuspaga chayllaman saqeyurunku.

Hinaspas tragota tomamushanankamaqa, huk  
 viajero askha wakayoq chakata pasashasqa.  
 355 Hinaspas zonzochaga ninsi, "Wiraqocha, kasarachiyta  
 munashanku a la fuerza! Manachu qan kasarakuyta  
 munashawaq huk askha qolqeyoq p'asñawan?" nispas.



- "A la fuerzatan kasarachiytan munashanku, chaymi chay costalman winaspan apashawanku," nispa.
- 360 Hinaspas chay negociante runaqa nisqa, "Bueno, wayqey, ciertochu?" nispas.
- "Ari, wayqey, cierton. Kasarachiytan munashawanku. Qan kasarakuwaqchu?" nispas.
- 365 Winaruway, wayqey, ñoqa aswan kasarakuytan munashani!" nispa.
- "Noqataq wakaykita qatichisaq, ayparamuwanki," nispa, "kasarayukuspayki," nispa.
- "Bueno, wayqey, entonces, winaruwayyá!" nispas nin chay chay askha wakayoq runaqa, chay negociante runaqa.
- 370 Hinaspas zonzochaqa winarun kasqantas watarullantaq. Hinaspas zonzochaqa wakantin pasapun, wakantin llipi uywata qatirikuspa. Hinaspa wayqenkunaqa nas lloqsiramunña.
- 375 "Yau, zonzo, kunanqa despidiyukuy wayqeykikunamanta! Chanqayamushaykin mayu ukhuman!" nispa.
- "Amayá, wiraqocha! Kasarakuytan munashani!"
- "Carajo! Zonzo y mierda, qan kasarakuytaraq qanmunashasqanki, eh! Carajo, chay warmiyta sipichiwaspas, imapaqraqmi qan kasarakuyta munasharanki, zonzo?" nispas chanqayapunku zonzotaqa mayu ukhuman, pero manasyá zonzochu kasqa. Zonzoga vivosya, aswan vivosyá paykunamanta kasqa. Hinaspas wakayoq qharj riki pasapun. Hinaspas
- 385 wayqenkunaqa ninku, "Na zonzota kunanqa chanqayapunchisña! Ma, chayapusunchis, wayqey! Hakuchis kunanqa feriaman ripusunchis!" nispa nisqa. Chay hinaspas feriaman ripun ñas feriaman cercañas kasqa huk llaqtapin karan. Hinapis wayqenkunaqa ninku,
- 390 "Hakuchis, wayqey, feriaman kunanqa allintan machayamusunchis sumaqta chay zonzo chanqayusqanchisrayku!" nispas. Hinaspa wayqenkunaqa feriamansi rin.
- Hinaspas feriapi kashaqtinkuqa, zonzo wayqentin hinallas rikushanku. Askhatas qolqeta montonayashasqa, wakakunatas vendeyushasqa feriapiqa.
- 395 "Haqay," nispas huk wayqen nin, "wayqey, manachu haqay zonzo wayqenchis kikichallanmi riki? Maymantataq lloqsiramunmanri karan?" nispas nin.
- Hinaspas, "Manachu? Ima? Hakuchis
- 400 qhawaramusunchis chay wayqenchis zonzochu hina riki kashan!" nispa nisqa.
- "Carajo, wayqenchismi, wayqey, imaynatataq kay zonzori mayu ukhumantari lloqsiramuran?"
- "Carajo, chinpayurusunchis a ver," nispa.
- 405 "Qolqeta mañayaramusunchis!"
- "Hola, wayqeychay! Imaymantataq qanri chay askha uywatari qatiramullankitaq?" nispas.
- Wayqenkuna niqtinqa, "Ay, wayqey," nispas zonzochaqa nin, "allin horacha mayuman

- 410 chanqayamurawanki, aswan ukhuman chanqayamunkiman  
karan chayqa, aswan askhataraqcha wakakunata  
oyejachakunata qatimuyman karan vendenaypaq, pero  
ñoqataqa chanqayamusqankichis patachallamanmi,  
chaymi chay chikallata uywatapas qatimuykichis  
415 qankunapaq! Bueno, chay qolqeta qankuna apakapuychis,  
qankunatapas chanqayamusaykichischa mayuman, hinaspas  
qankunapas askhata wakata qatimullankichistaq,"  
nispas wayqentaqa nin.  
"Mana, wayqey, ciertochu, carajo?"  
420 "Cierto ya!"  
Hinaspas tomayunku wayqenkunaqa.  
Allinta tomayunku. "Bueno, wayqey, qankunapas  
costalta cerrayukuychis mediyukuspa, qankunatañataq  
chanqayamusaykichis," nispas zonzoga nin, zonzochaqa.  
425 Hinaspas, "Bueno, wayqey, ojalá ya  
allinta ñoqaykupas askhata wakata qatimuykuman  
chayqa qhapaqyapusunmancha riki!" nispas  
wayqenkunaqa nin.  
Hinaspas zapatotas apan huk costalta hinaspas  
430 ch'ukllatan, ch'ukllallamanraqsi pakan chay cerca  
chakallaman. Hinaspas tutataqa apanku.  
"Wayqey, askhataqa qanqa qatimunki  
uywakunata qolqeman vendenanchispaq?" nispas.  
"Ari, wayqey," nispas zonzochaqa kusionqa.  
435 "Chay wayqeykuna ñoqatan millayta cheqnikuwaqtin,  
ñoqan wanuchipusaq aswan," nispas zonzoga  
pensayakushan umanpiqa umanpiqa.  
Hinaspas wayqenkunataqa chanqayapunkus.  
Chay huk wayqentapas chanqayansi zonzoga ishkaynin  
440 wayqenkunata. "Bien hechoy wayqeykuna wañuchun,  
ñoqataraq imaymanatan ruwayawarankuman?" nispas  
zonzochaqa contento wasinman ripun.  
Chayllapin chay cuento tukupun.
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Story 2: The Donkey Who Got the Majeños' Ropes Back

- 1       ~  
Noqa cuentota willasaykichis. Huk viajeros kasqa.  
Hinaspas askha asnokunata apan mikhunata. Hinaspas  
huk machu asno pisipan. Machu asno pisipaqtinsi  
ñanman saqerparinku. Ñanman saqerpariqtinkus,  
5       macho asnoqa kumpakapuspa, sayaripun. Sayarispansi,  
machu asnoqa pampatas mikhunaman rin. Hinaspas  
mikhuspa, mikhuspa, wirayayun machu asnoqa allinta.  
Hinaspas machu asnoqa ñas qarayunñas, wirayaspa  
kashan.
- 10       Hinaspas pampapis mikhushan sapa p'unchay.  
Pampapi mikhuqtinsi, huk p'unchayqa huk zorro  
hamusqa. Hinaspas zorroqa nin, "Wayqey, chakiymanmi  
kiska haykuramuwan. Manachu q'oqkiruwankiman?"  
nispa.
- 15       Hinaspas asnoqa nin, "Ari, wayqey, ñoqaqa  
q'oqkiruykimanmi. Maymantaq may partemantaq  
haykuramurasunkiri?" nispas asnoqa zorrota tapun.  
"Chaypin, wayqey, chaymi wist'umushani,"  
nispas zorroqa qhawayachin chakinta. Hinaspas,  
20       "Khuyaytan nanashawan!" ninsi zorroqa.  
Hinaspas, "Bueno, wayqey, q'oqkirusaykiya.  
Agujaykita apamuy," nispas nin.  
"Bueno, wayqey, q'oqkiruway. Chaymi chay  
aguja kashan," nispas.
- 25       Hinaspas asnoqa nin, "Bueno, q'oqkiruway,  
wayqey! Chakiypin kiska haykuramuwan!" nispa.  
Hinaspas asnoqa nin, "Anchaychapin nanashawan!  
Anchay, anchay, anchaychapin!" nispas nin.  
Hinaspas, "Mayneqpin, mayneqpi, mayneqpi?"  
30       nin. "Mayneqpi?" ninsi atoqqa.  
Hinaspas asnoqa nin, "Chaychapi, chaychapi!"  
nispa.
- 35       Hinaspas asnoqa riki manas waktantasya  
llullakun. Hinaspas asnoqa senalashansi mayninpicha  
hayt'ayta munashan, nispa, hinaspas asnoqa nin,  
"Chaychapi, chaychapi!" nishaqtin, hayt'aspa  
atoqtaqa pampaman chanqamun. Hinas secota  
hinaspa asnoqa pasakapun.
- 40       Hinaspas unay unaymantañas atoqqa  
rikch'arin. Rikch'ariqtinsi, "Chay suwa asnoqa,  
carajo! Hayt'aspa yaqa wañuchiwan!" nispas nin  
atoqqa. Hinaspas tira pasakapun.
- 45       Chaymanta wakmanta hamullantaq huk  
añasnataq. Hinaspas asnoqa llullantaq, "Wayqey,  
kiskan haykuruwan. Q'oqkiway chakiymanta!  
Khuyaytan nanashawan!" nispa.  
"Bueno, wayqey, ñoqaqa q'oqkirusaykiya,"  
nispas nin añasqa.



- 50 Hinaspas asnoqa nin, "Chaychapi, wayqey!  
 Apuraylla q'okkiruway!" nispas wakmantas añaswan  
 q'okkichikushan. Hina q'okkichikushansi.  
 Hinaspas asnoqa wakmantas apuntashallantaq may  
 mayninpiraq hayt'ayta munashan nispas. Hinaspas  
 55 chay asnoqa q'okkichikushaqtin wakmanta añastaqa  
 hayt'aspa sipirapullasqataq.  
 Hinaspas asnoqa sapa p'unchaysi purishan  
 chay zorrokunata hayt'aspa, añaskunata hayt'aspa.  
 Hinaspas huk p'unchayqa zorro nin, "Wayqey,  
 ñoqaqa tiyani haqay orqoq t'oqopi," nispan.  
 60 "Chayllamanmi chayllapin pununi," nispas asnotaqa  
 zorro atoqqa nin.  
 Hinaspas atoqqa huk p'unchay reatata  
 suwakusqaku chay Majenokunamanta. Hinaspas  
 chay Majenokunaqa puriyushasqas tapukuspa,  
 65 "Pichás suwawan?" nispas. Hinaspa manas tarinkunachu.  
 Hinaspas asnotaqa tapurikusqaku, "Wayqey, manachu  
 qan willaykuwankiman pichá reatayta suwaruwan?  
 Manan tariniñachu. Pagasayki," nispas asnotaqa  
 nin.  
 70 Hinaspas asnoqa ninsi, "Wayqey, ñoqa  
 willasayki," nispas, "pero hayk'atataq pagawankimanri?"  
 nispas nin.  
 "Ñoqa pagayki ima mañakusqaykita," nispas.  
 "Bueno, hakuchisyá! Willamusayki,"  
 75 nispas asnoqa Majenok maypichá tiyasqan chaytaqa  
 rinku. Chaypi riqtinkus asnoqa nin, "Wayqey,  
 ñoqa reataykikunata aparamusayki, pero askhas  
 cebadatan ñoqamanqa mikhuchiwanki. Chaymantataqmi  
 alfalfata huk chakrata rantipuwanki," nispas nin  
 80 asnoqa chay Majenokunata.  
 Hinaspas niqtinsi, "Bueno, wayqey,  
 maymantataq hawamuwanki qan waktaykitapas chay  
 willakuwanki?" nispas nin chay Majenok asnotaqa.  
 Hinaspa, "Mana, wayqey, ñoqaqa aparamusaykipuniya!  
 85 Noqamanña ya encargakuway," nispas.  
 Hinaspas asnoqa nin, "Huk p'esqetaya  
 preparapuwaychis. Hinaspa q'alata cuerpoyta  
 qhaqoruwaychis, ñawiykunata, oqotiykunata, ima,"  
 nispas asnoqa nin.  
 90 "Bueno, wayqey," nispas. Hinaspa  
 asnomanqa allintas mikhuyachinku cebadata.  
 Hinaspas q'alatataqsi p'esqewan qhaqoyunku.  
 Hinaspas asnoqa ninsi, "Bueno, wayqey,  
 ñoqaña aparamusayki," nispas.  
 95 Hinaspas Majenokunaqa ninku, "Haqay  
 suwa asno yangachu sino rakrayachinchis riki,  
 manapas imatapas apamuwasunchis," nispas.  
 Hinaspa asnoqa haqay orqo chayllatas  
 pasapun. Chayllamansi chinkayun. Hinaspas  
 100 asnoqa ña kunanñataq yacharanña maypichá zorrokuna



tiyan. Chaymansí pasan. Hinaspas chay zorroq wasin punkupis kumparparikun asnoqa wañusqa hina.

Hinaspas unay kumpakuspa kashaqtinsi huk una zorrochaqa lloqsimusqa. Hinaspas, "Imataq chayri? Imataq wañun punkuypiri?" nispas uña zorroqa nin. Hinaspas, "Yau, eh! Mikhunatachá riki papay aparamun," nispas. "Mamay, imachá punkunchispi wañusqa nansi oqotinmantapasya kurukuna wakwamushasqaña. Mamitay, unayñachus kakun," nispas.

"May?" mispas mamitanqa phawarimun. Hinaspas, "Wau! Imataq chayri? Aysayusunchisya mikhunanchispaq!" nispas nin. "Ñacha papayki chayaramunqaña," nispas nin zorroqa wawantaqa.

Hinaspa ñas qosansi chayaramunña zorroqqa. Hinaspas nin, "Ah, punkunchispi wañusqa. Imachá?" nispas nin.

Hinaspas huk atoqqa lloqsiramunsi. Hinaspas, "Wañusqataqsi machu asno," nispas nin.

Hinaspas, "Bueno, hakuchis mink'akuq, purisunchis aysayunanchispaq Vicenteman, San Joseman, Antonioman. Hakuchis, mink'amusun. Askhata pusamusunchis aysayunanchispaq, aysayunanchispaq," nispas.

Hinaspas, "Bueno, allinmi riki kanqa chayqa festejasunchis chay aychata aysayuspaqa. Mikhunanchis askha kanqa," nispas zorrokunaqa. Hinaspa askhana hununakushanku.

Antonio nin, "Vicente, apamuy reatakunata. Llipinta horqomuy! Reatakunawan allinta churayusunchis. Chaywan aysayusunchis wasinchisman," nispas nin.

Hinaspas, "Bueno, wayqey," nispas Vicentega nin. Chay atoq puririspari rimanakushanku sutinta churanayakuspanku. Hinaspas, "Bueno, apamusaq," nispas nin. Reatakunatas askhata horqomunku q'alatas watachanku reatakunawanqa asnotaqa. Hinaspas ñas listoña kashanku ñas ña rimanayayunkuñas. Hinaspas ña aysananku kashaqtinqa llipinkus cinturankumanta watayukunku reatawanqa llipinku, wawantinkuna, llipinkus ya chayta munaspa.

Hinaspas ninsi Antonioqa, "Tiray, Vicente, allinta kallpachakuychis aswanta jalaychis!" nispas nishan.

Hinaspas, "Tiray, Vicente! Tiray, Antonio!" nispa ninayakushanku.

Hinaspas, "Huk kallpalla! Huk kallpalla!" nispas ñas manas puririchiyta mana atinkuchu. Hinaspas "Aswan kallpawan aysaychis!" nispas ninakunku. Hinaspas ñas aysarishankuna iskay metrota hinañas. Hinaspas, ña, "Yau, huk fuerzalla! Huk fuerzalla!"

nispas ninayakuspanku.

155 Huktas hinaqa asnoqa sayarin. Hinaspas phawarayaspas, "K'eteq, k'eteq, k'eteq," nispas, hayt'aspa wañuyachipusqa q'alata. Añaskunatawan, atoqkunatawanqa ñas umankutapas calaveratarasqa ruwayusqa q'alatarasqa pampakunaman ch'aqeyapusqa karan.

160 Hinaspas asnoqas, "Hauchis, hauchis, hauchis!" nispas ya pasapun phawayllata. Hinaspas, "Chaychu manachu, carajo, ñoqaqa lograni? Chay reatankunata qopusaqya chay Majeñokunaman, pero ñoqamanqa pagawanqa askhata!" nispas nin asnoqa.

165 Hinaspas, "Chayqa apamuykin reataykikunata! Pagawankin kunanqa huk chakra alfalfatan rantiyapuwanki iskay costal cebadatawan saqeyapuwanki!" nispas asnoqa nin Majeñokunata.

170 Majeñokunatasqa, "Ari, wayqey, carajo! Qanman aswantarasqami pagapusaykiku!" Hinaspas kusiasqa reatankunataqa chaskiyapunku asnomantaqa. Chayllapin chay cuento tukupun.

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Story 3: The Girl Who Ran Away with the Condor

- 1 Huk munay p'asñas ovejata michisqa orqopi.  
Hinaspas chay p'asñaqa sapa p'unchay ovejanta  
qatin hinaspas sapallansi michin orqo patakunapiqa.  
Hinaspas p'unchayqa qatinsi tutallamanta ovejantaqa.
- 5 Qatigtinsi, huk wiraqochaqa cafe ternontin,  
puka corbatantinsi ladonpi ukhurin. Hinaspas huk  
mandorreata apakamuspa munaytas ladonpi p'asñaq  
p'asñataqa tocapayayun. Hinaspa chaypi  
p'asñaqa ninsi, "Imaytaq wak wiraqochari ñoqatari  
10 tocapayanawanpaq?" Hinaspas p'asñaqa, "Mamitayman  
willayukusaq," nispas nin. Hinaspas wakman  
pasapunsi condorqa chay wiraqochaqa.  
Hinaspas huk p'unchayta wakmantas  
qatillantaq ovejata. Wakmanta qatigtinsi,  
15 wakmantas chay cafe ternoyoq wiraqochaqa ladonpi  
ukhurirullantaq. Hinaspas chay p'unchayqa  
wakmantas tocapayallantaq munaychata. Hinaspa  
p'asñataqa nin, "Niñacha, ovejata michichiykimanchu?"  
nispa.
- 20 Hinaspas manas p'asñaqa rimarinchu.  
Hinaspa, "Imatataq chay wiraqochari munan ñoqatari  
fastidiakunawanpaq. Alqoywanraq kachayman, q'ala  
llik'ichiyman," nispas nin. Hinaspa alqontaqsi  
llik'iyta munashan wiraqochataq, hinaspas p'asñataqsi  
25 hap'ishan.  
Hinaspa, "Amaya, panay, alqoykiwanqa  
llik'iwankichu!" nispas nin.  
Hinaspas, "Paqarin imatataq munawaq  
chaytaq ñoqaq ladoymanri hamunki?" nispas nin  
30 p'asñaqa hinaspas.  
"Panay, munaychan kanki," nispas nin.  
"Paqarinña tupallasuntaq," nispas chay cafe  
ternoyoq wiraqochaqa pasapullantaqsi.  
Hinaspa p'unchayninman wakmantas hamullantaq.  
35 Wakmanta hamuspanña, p'asñataqa nin, "Qanpa qosayki  
kanchu, manachu?" nispas nin p'asñataqa, chay cafe  
ternoyoq wiraqochaqa.  
Hinaspas, cafe ternoyoq niqtinqa, p'asñaqa  
ninsi, "Kanmi ñoqaqqa," hinaspa waktanta nin, yapaykun.  
40 "Qanpaqqa manan qhariyki kanchu?  
Qanmanta ñoqa enamorakuyta munashanin. Qanmi  
munaychan kanki," nispas nin p'asñataqa chay  
cafe ternoyoq wiraqochaqa. Hinaspas p'asñamantaqa  
enamorakunñas. Confianzataña hap'ikushan chay  
45 wiraqocha.  
Hinaspas p'asñamanqa sapa p'unchayñas  
tupanñas tupanña tupanña. Sapa p'unchayñas  
kuskañas puriyushanku. Hinaspas chay p'asñaqa



- onqoq ripun chay wiraqochapaqqa. Hinaspas  
 50 p'asñaqa ninsi huk p'unchay, "Onqoqmi kani  
 qanpaq. Kunanqa wasiykimancha riki apawanki,"  
 nispas nin chay wiraqochataqa.  
 Hinaspas wiraqochaqa ninsi, "Noqa  
 apasayki, ñoqa apapusayki wasiyman," nispas.  
 55 "Noqaqa karupin tiyani!" nispas.  
 "Maypin tiyanki?"  
 "Haqay orqoq chay qhepa ukhunpiraqmi,"  
 nispas nin.  
 "Bueno, pusawankichu, manachu?" nispan,  
 60 "Mamitaymanmi sinoqa willarusaq," nispas p'asñaqa  
 nin.  
 "Ama, panay, willaychu! Noqa pusapusayki.  
 Hayk'aqmi pusanayta munanki?" nispas nin.  
 "Bueno pruntocha riki pusawanki,"  
 65 nispas p'asñaqa nin.  
 Hinaspas, "Bueno, entonces, minchha  
 p'unchay pusasayki," nispas nin.  
 P'asñaqa, "Bueno," nispas nin. Hinaspas,  
 "Imatataq, conpero, pitaq ovejaytari kunan  
 70 qatiyapunqa?" nispasya p'asñaqa nin. "Chay  
 orqomantari haqay chay wasiykamari ovejay ripunmansi  
 sapallanchu?" nispasya nin p'asñaqa.  
 Hinaspas, "Ama aspis qatimullanki  
 ovejaykitaga," nispas chay wiraqochaqa nin. Hinaspa,  
 75 "Noqanchisña alqoykiwan qatiyachisunchis.  
 Alqoykiqa chayarachipunqachu hina wasiykikama?"  
 nispas nin.  
 Hinaspas p'asñaqa manas mamitanmanpas  
 willanchu. "Enamorasqan kashani," nispapas. "Ima?"  
 80 nispapas. Hinaspas p'asñaqa ñas ña qatimunsi,  
 hinaspas chay wiraqochaqa ladonpis ukhurirun.  
 Hinaspas p'asñaqa nin, "Bueno, las cuatro desdeñacha  
 riki apapuwanki," nispas, "wasiykiman," nispas nin.  
 Hinaspa, "Bueno," nispa. "Bueno, apasayki,"  
 85 nispas nin. Hinaspa, "Bueno, ñas horaña  
 chayaramushan hinaspas alqoykita niy, 'Ovejanchista  
 qatinki!' nispa, 'wasiykamas apamunki!' nispa niy,"  
 nispas p'asñataqa nin wiraqochaqa. Hinaspa  
 p'asñaqa ñas alqotaqa kamarachinna. Hinaspas  
 90 ovejata qatiriyukunsi alqoqa hinaspa wasinkama  
 chayarachin.  
 Wasinkama chayarachiqtinsi, mamitanqa  
 nin, "Pitaq ovejatari qatiramun, qatiyaramun?  
 Maytaq p'asñanchisri?" nispas nin hinaspa.  
 95 "Maytaq p'asñari pasapun? Pitaq? Imataq?  
 Wanunchu? Imananantaq qanpiri?" nispas nin  
 p'asñaq mamitanqa. Hinaspas, "Imanasaqtari?"  
 nispas, maskhaqsi hamunku, p'asñata manas  
 tarinkuchu, hinaspas mana tariqtinkuqa, huk  
 100 p'unchay ninya rimun.



- Hinaspas ya condorqa ñas p'asñataqa ya pasachipuyta mynashanña. Hinaspas ninsi chay wiraqochaqa, "Noqa pusasayki, pero q'epikusayki ñoqa," nispas nin.
- 105 Hinaspas, "Imaynatataq q'epiwanki?" nispas nin.
- Hinaspas, "Ñoqaña q'episayki. Ama qhawarinkichu. Kunkaymanta hap'ipakuwanki, asichus qhawarinki chayqa, urmayapuwaqmi,"
- 110 nispas nin.
- Hinaspas ya manas ya p'asñaqa riki, "Chay wiraqocha imataq? Ima wiraqochas chay?" nispas ya sonqonpiqa pensayukushan. Hinaspas "Bueno, amacha qhawarisaq," nispas p'asñaqa.
- 115 "Ama qhawarinkichu!" nispas hinaspas nas wasan patapiñas p'asñaqa kashan. Hinaspas chay wiraqochaqa ña pasachipunsi. Hinaspas, "Phrrrrrr," nispas phawaripusqa hinaspas.
- "Imanawashantaq? Maytataq apashawanri?"
- 120 nispas hinaspas chayachinsi wasinmanqa chay wiraqochaqa. Hinaspas, hinaspas ya huk qaqa wasinmansi chayachin. Hinaspas, "Imataq chayri? Chay qaqa wasinman chayachiy munawaran. May? Imataq chay wiraqochachu? Icha runachu?" nispas p'asñaqa pensaykun nispas
- 125 "Ya, imaynatataq chay?"
- Hinaspas ñas p'asñaqa wachakuytañas munashan. Hinaspas ñas iskay kinsa p'unchayllañas wachakunanpaqqa faltashan. Hinaspas nin,
- "Apamuwayya aychata, papakunata. Onqoytaña
- 130 munashani," nispas p'asñaqa nin.
- Hinaspas, "Noqa aparamusayki huk waka aychata," nispas chay wiraqochaqa pasan. Hinaspas aparamunsi huk aychata aparamusqa huk oveja aychata qhestillatanan, t'urukunawan, t'uruwan llunch'irusqa
- 135 walthaña. Hinaspas chayta wayk'ukun. Hinaspas chay p'asñaqa nin, "Imataq chay wiraqocha chhayna apamunawanpaq chay, kay aychatachu wayk'ukuyman?" nispas p'asñaqa nin. "Manan munanichu chay aychaykitaqa!" nispas nin.
- 140 "Carajo, imatataq munankiri?" nispas wiraqochaqa phiñariykun.
- Hinaspas p'asñaqa, "Imaynatataq chay wiraqochaqa chay qhesti aychata apamunawanpaq? Manachu hina wiraqochachu, imacha kakun?"
- 145 nispas p'asñaqa imaginakushan umanpiqa.
- Hinaspas ñas warminqa onqokunsi. Hinaspas wiraqochaq wawanqa qharicha kasqa, munaychas kashan. Hinaspas p'asñaqa nin, "Apuray caldota ruwapuway! Aychata apamuway!" nispas nin. Hinaspas condorqa
- 150 pasallan chay wiraqocha pasallantaqsi aychapaqqa. Hinaspas wak munaymantan kutiramusqa askhatas aparamusqa waka aychata. Hinaspas t'oño wakmanta qhesti [unclear].



- Hinaspas condor wak ruwan caldotaga ruwapun.  
 Hinaspas, "Chayta tomaykuy," nispas nin hinaspas.  
 155 Nas allinña kashan, hinaspas wakmanta  
 aychataqa aychapaqqa rillantaq aparamullantaqsi.  
 Hinaspas, "Chayri, imataq chay wiraqochari?"  
 nispas p'asñaqa llakisqallaña sapa p'unchay  
 kayushan. Hinaspas p'asñaqa wakmanta nillantaq,  
 160 "Aychata apamuway," nispas ñas pununamanta  
 sayayuranna hinaspas. P'asñaqa, "Khamiyurusaq.  
 Chayri wiraqochachu? Imataq?" nispas.  
 "Maymantataq aychatari apamuwan?" nispas  
 p'asñaqa imaginakushan.  
 165 Hinaspas, "Bueno, rirusaq," nispas nin  
 chay wiraqochaga, hinaspas pasansi wiraqochaga  
 huk ratochallas desaparirun ladonmanta, p'asñaq  
 ladonmantaqa.  
 Hinaspa, "Ratocha pasan, eh?" nispas nin  
 170 p'asñaqa, hinaspas nispas p'asñaqa, "Khamiyarusaq,  
 carajo!" nispas nin p'asñaqa. Hinaspas huk qaga  
 qhepachallaman p'asñaqa pakarukusqa. Hinaspas,  
 "Mayraqtaq chayamunqa?" nispas p'asñaqa suyashan  
 khamiyarushan. "Imaynintataq hamunri?" nispas.  
 175 Hinaspas huk condorllas chay ladoman,  
 "Pharrrrrr," nispas hamusqa. Hinaspas tukurusqa  
 naman wiraqochaman, hinaspa, "Hauuuuw," nispas  
 nin.  
 "Imaynataraq condorri ñoqatari engañawan  
 180 chaypiwan? Manama wiraqochachu kasqa! Condorma  
 kakusqa!" nispas nin. Hinaspa, "Y atakau, ñan  
 ripukusaq kunanqa!" nispas. P'asñaqa khuyayullanñas  
 sapa p'unchay kashan. Chay mana yachasqa;  
 chayllaraqsi yachan; chayllaraqya yacharusqa condor  
 185 kasqanta. Hinaspas p'asñaqa riki sapa p'unchaysi  
 llakiyukusqa kashan. "Imanasaqtaqri? Mamitaysi  
 ima nispacha niyushan riki? 'Nacha wanupunña,'  
 nispacha, niwashawan riki!" nispas nin ñaga p'asnaqa.  
 Hinaspas chay huk t'oqonpiqa chay  
 190 condorpa amigon kasqa Jalisco sutiyuq. Hinaspa chay  
 Jaliscos condorpa enemigon kasqa. Hinaspas condorta  
 manas p'asñaqa ninchu ya, "Qanqa condorma kasqanki!"  
 ima nispapas wiraqochataqa hinaspas nin. "Imanapusaqtaqqa?"  
 nispas nin. "Condortaq chayqa kakusqa," nispas nin  
 195 p'asñaqa. Hinaspas condorqa pasakusqa aycha apaq.  
 Hinaspas chay aycha apaq rishanankamas  
 Jaliscoqa visitayasqa chay p'asñamanqa. Hinaspa,  
 "Señora," nispas nin, "imanasqan? Allin llakisqan  
 kashanki! Chay condorqa engañashasunkin. Qantaq  
 200 amaña llakikuychu! Noqa mamitaykiman willaramusaq.  
 Noqa apapusayki," nispas manaraq chaypi condor  
 kashanankamanqa Jaliscoqa nin p'asñataqa.  
 "Imayna, wiraqocha?" nispas Jaliscotaqa  
 chay p'asñaqa nillantaq.



- 205           Hinaspan, Kunallan qosayki chayaramunqa, ñoqataqa rikurispaga sipirapuanmancha!" nispas Jaliscoqa nin. Risaq, pakarakamullasaqña. Ima nispacha nisunki ñoqaña chaymanta willasayki," nispas nin Jaliscoqa pasapunsi.
- 210           Hinaspa condorqa chayaramun, hinaspas chayaramuqtinsi, "Yau! Wayk'uy hambreytaqa aychata apamuyki," nispas nin. Hinaspas chay p'asñaqa allillamantas wayk'ushan. Hinaspa, "Carajo, apurayta wayk'uy! Yarqaymanta kashani!"
- 215           nispas nin chay wiraqochaqa. Hinaspas mikhuyunku, hinaspas condor wakmantas pasallantaq.
- Hinaspas chay Jaliscoqa nin wakmantas Jaliscoqa haykullantaq p'asñamanqa nispas, "Paqarin pusapusayki mamitaykiman," nispas nin p'asñataqa.
- 220           Hinaspa, "Kunan kacharparin. Kunan imatataq ruwasun?" nispas nin Jaliscoqa. "Qanmi kunan p'acha t'aqsakuq haykunki haqay unu apakamunaykimanta," nispas nin Jaliscoqa.
- "Bueno," nispas.
- 225           "Ahinata ruwanki, ruwanki," nispas yachachinakunku. Hinaspas ñas imaynatacha ruwananku ñas yachachinakunku q'alataña. Hinaspas Jaliscoqa nin p'asñataqa, "Chhaynata ñoqa ruwasayki," nispas.
- 230           Hinaspas chay huk p'unchay, apapunan p'unchaytaqa condortaqa kacharparin p'asñaqa. "Aychata apamuway!" nispas. "Unayta askha aychata apamuwanki," nispas nin hinaspa.
- Niqqtinsi, "Bueno," nispas ya condor pasapun.
- 235           Hinaspan, "Eh, yau, señora!" nispas nin Jaliscoqa. "T'aqsakuq haykunki, hinaspa qan chaypi sayanki," nispas nin.
- Hinaspa, "Bueno," nispas nin.
- Hinaspas condorqa pasapuqtinqa p'asñataqa ñas
- 240           Jalisco pasachipusqaña. Wasinmanñas chayarachipusqa. Hinaspas condorqa hamunanpaqqa wasinmansi haykusqa hinaspas wawallan waqaykushasqa. Wawallan waqaykushaqtinsi, "Maytaq señoray?" nispas condorqa lloqsirun, maskharun q'alata.
- 245           Hinaspas nin, "Carajo! Maytataq pasan kunan chay p'asñari?" Hinaspa chay unu wasi wisinan chaypiqa huk señora kkillan tiyashasqa. Unu patachapi sayashasqa. Hinaspas, "Yau! Hamuy! Apurayta wayk'uy!" nispas nin. "Carajo, imanaqtintaq
- 250           mana kasuwankiraq? Apurayta hamuy!" nispas. Hinaspas chaypi kashaqtinsi, "P'ultin!" unuman pasayapusqa huk sapo. Chayqa hamp'atus yacharisqaku señoranmanta suyananpaq. Hinaspas condorqa, "Carajo, maytaq señorayri?" nispas nin. "Pitaq engañaruwanmi?" nispas condorqa umanwan pensaykun.
- 255           Hinaspas pensayuqtinqa nin, "Pitaq engañaruwan?



- Ah Jalisco, carajo, chay Jaliscolla ñoqataqa rikusharawan, chaysi p'asña apamusqaytaqa!" nispas nin. "Jaliscota, carajo, sipiyapusaq, carajo, maytaq Jaliscori?" nispas Jaliscoq wasinta rin. Hinaspas manas Jaliscotaqa tarisqachu wasinpiqa. "Carajo, chay Jaliscopunin warmiytaqa pusarapun mamanpaman!" nispas condorqa ninsi.
- 260 Hinaspas condorqa huk tardes rin p'asñaq wasintaqa. Hinaspa ña wasinpiña p'asñataqa tapuyushasqa. Hinaspa p'asñataqa tapuyushasqa, "Pin pusarasunki?" nispa.
- 265 "Chay huk condormi kasqa, chaymi ñoqata enamorakuwan," nispa p'asñaqa willayukushasqa wasinpiqa.
- 270 Hinaspas, "Imanasaqtaq? Imaynatataq pusapusaq?" nispas condorqa pensayukun. Hinaspas chaypi willanayakushasqaku.
- 275 "Chay Jaliscomanqa ñoqa pagasaqmi qori qolqeta," nispas mamitanqa niyushasqa p'asñataqa. Hinaspa condorqa, "Carajo, ahora sí Jaliscota kunan sipiyapullasaqñacha. Manañacha escaparuwanchachu!" nispas condorqa pasapun hinaspas Jalisco maskhaq. Hinaspas Jaliscotaqa rikurunsi.
- 280 Hinaspas, "Yau, Jalisco, carajo! Imapaqmi qan warmiyta pusaruwaranki mamitanman?" nispas hinaspas condorqa qatiykachayunsi. Hinaspas Jaliscoqa wasin ukhumansi pasayurusqa. Hinaspas, "Carajo, yau, Jalisco, lloqsimuy! Kunanga sipirapusayki.
- 285 Manañan kunanqa kausarunkiñachu!" nispas Jaliscotaqa nin condor.
- "Amaraq! Manan, wayqechay, ñoqachu pusaramurani! Pichá pusarapurapas?" nispa.
- Hinaspa, "Qanmi karanki, carajo!" nispas
- 290 nisqa condorqa nin Jaliscotaqa.
- Hinaspan condor niqtinqa, "Bueno, wayqechay, kunan lloqsiramusqa. Amañacha kunanqa mikhurakapullawanki, wañurachikapullawanki imaynapas kunan ima ruwasqaytapas ruwakuway," nispan nispas
- 295 Jalisco nimushan t'oqomantaqa.
- Hinaspas condorqa nin, "Lloqsimuy! Lloqsimunkichu, manachu?" nispa nin.
- "Lloqsimusaqmi!" nispas. "Mikhurakapullawayñaspas. Chhulnaykita kichariy hatunta, chayllamanña pasayaranpusaq," nispas Jaliscoqa nimushan t'oqomanta
- 300 hinaspas.
- "Ñan kicharisqaña kashani," nispas condorqa suyamushansi. "Carajo, apurayta lloqsimuy!" nispas. "Sipirullasaykiña, mikhurapullasaykiña kunanqa!"
- 305 nispas condorqa.
- Hinaspa hukllata, carajo, Jalisco, "Waq!" lloqsimusqa. Hinaspas lloqsimuqtinqa sikinmantas, condorpa sikinmanta lloqsirapun Jaliscoqa. Hinaspa



- 310 tira pasakapullantaq.  
 "Carajo, maytaq chay Jaliscori?  
 Lloqsiruwanchu?" nispa nisqa condorqa. Karu  
 wakmanta qatillantaq hinaspas Jaliscotaqa ayparun,  
 wakmanta aypullantaq. Hinaspas wakmanta wasinman  
 315 pasayurullantaq.  
 Hinaspas Jaliscoqa nin, "Wayqey, manan  
 ñoqachu apani. Aspas huk willawayki haqay huk  
 Jaliscon pusarun. Manan ñoqaqa pusanichu!" nispaqa.  
 "Wayqey Jalisco," nispas nin Jaliscoqa.  
 320 "Wayqeykichu?" nispa nin.  
 "Ari!" nispas nin. Hinaspa manasyá  
 wayqenpaschu kasqa. Paysi ya kallasqataq hinaspa  
 pusaqqa.  
 Hinaspas nin, "Bueno, imatas, pues ciertochu?"  
 325 nispas condorqa wakmanta hamullan.  
 "Cierton, wayqey," nispa, carajo, hinaspa.  
 Ay condorqa pasakapun huk Jalisco maskhaña. Hinaspas  
 [unclear] asipayakunsi, carajo, "Ya zonzo condor,  
 carajo! Mana imata ima ruwawanpischu, carajo!"  
 330 nispa. Hinaspas, "Imanarusaqtaqri?" nispas.  
 "Ya tariparamuwanga chayqa, sipirapullawanqapuniñacha!"  
 nispas Jaliscoqa ninsi hinaspas. "Así pues wasinta  
 rirusaq, niramusaq mamitanta invitachun," nispas,  
 "condorta," nispa pasan mamitanman. "Niramusaq,"  
 335 nispas Jaliscoqa nin.  
 "Señora," nispa, "chay condormi ñoqata  
 sipiyta munashawan. Sipirapuwangacha kunanqa!  
 Así pues, señora, qan invitay chay condorman,"  
 nispas. "Invitay wasiykiman condorta," nispas  
 340 nin.  
 "Bueno," nispas Jaliscotaqa p'asñaq  
 mamitanga nin. Hinaspa niqtinsi, Jaliscoqa  
 pasanpun p'asñaq wasinmantaqqa.  
 Hinaspas nispas nisqa Jaliscoqa p'asñaq  
 345 wasinpiqa, "Señora, imatataq ruwanki? Huk  
 urputa suyachinki rupha unuta. Anchaymantaqmi  
 huk unkhunachallawan tapayanki, hinaspa anchay  
 patapi tiyayachinki chay condortaga," nispas nin.  
 "Huk wiraqochan cafe ternoyoq, puka corbatayoq  
 350 haykumunga wasiykiman," nispas nin. "Huk  
 p'unchaylla ñoqa invitasaq," nispas nin Jaliscoqa.  
 Hinaspas Jaliscoqa nin, "Wiraqocha condor,"  
 nispas nin Jaliscoqa hinaspas, "señoraykita  
 pusakanpunki. Na ñoqa nimunina mamitanta,"  
 355 nispa.  
 "Nimuranki?" nispa nisqa.  
 "Ari," nispa nimusqa Jaliscoqa nisqa;  
 condorta nisqa.  
 360 Hinaspa niqtinsi, condorqa riki visitansi  
 riki mamitanpa wasintaqa. Hinaspas mamitan  
 wasinta visitaqtinqa, condorqa haykunsi, punkutas takayun.



- "Señora," nispá nin, "visitamushayki," nispá.  
 "Ah, wiraqocha kanchu?"  
 365 "Arí."  
 "Pasayamuy, pasayamuy! Tiyanke  
 sumaqchallata," nispas nisqa.  
 "Señora," nispas condorqa sayaspallaraqsi  
 rimashan, "chay señoraytan pusakapusaq," nispá.  
 370 "Ima rapinán apamuran?" nispá nin.  
 "Noqa apakanpuni," nispas p'asñaq  
 mamitanqa nin.  
 Hinaspas, "Imanaqtintaq apamuranki  
 señoraytari? Noqa pusaykapullasaqmi?" nispas  
 375 nin. Hinaspas p'asñas manas rimarinchu, ladonpi  
 p'asñaqa kashan.  
 Hinaspa, "Amaraq, wiraqocha, ripuyraqchu,"  
 nispas p'asñaq mamitanqa nin. Hinaspas p'asñaq  
 mamitanqa, "Chaychallapipas tiyay!" nispas  
 380 wiraqochataqa tiyayachisqa chay urpu, rupha urpupi.  
 Hinaspa rupha urpupi patapi tiyaykushaqtinga,  
 condorqa pasayapusqa rupha unuman chay rupha  
 urpupi kasqa anchayman. Hinaspas chay [unclear]  
 p'asñaq mamitanqa pakayurusqa unkuñawan hinaspas  
 385 unaychamanta qhawaykuqtinga huk condor kasqa.  
 Manasya wiraqochachu kasqa. Condorsi tukurapun  
 chay rupha caldo ukhupi, rupha unupi.  
 Hinaspas p'asñaq mamitanqa, "Imatataq  
 qan condorkunawan apachikunaykipaq? Maymi chay  
 390 wawayki? Maypin kan?" nispas nin p'asñaq  
 mamitantaqqa tapun.  
 Hinaspas, "Chaymi engañarawanmi chay condor,  
 mamitay, ñoqata. Wawayqa chay wasinpicha kashan.  
 Chay Jaliscota ya pusamuy, hinaspa wawayta  
 395 apanpachun," nispas nin.  
 Hinaspas Jaliscoqa huk qhepa p'unchaytas  
 kuisqa rin, carajo, "Condorta wañurachinipuniya!  
 Carajo, ñoqa wañuchiwananta, ñoqata wañuchiyta  
 munasharawanri, carajo! Bien hecho, allintapuni  
 400 chayta ruwayuni!" nispá nin Jaliscoqa.  
 Hinaspa Jaliscotaqa nin p'asñaq mamitanqa,  
 "Jalisco, chay ususiypa wawanta aparapuway.  
 Condor kasqallanpicha kakushan riki," nispas nin.  
 Hinaspas Jaliscoqa rinsi wawan apaqqa.  
 405 Hinaspas aparamusqas. Munaychas kasqa. Condor  
 kasqallansi ya kasqarusqa chay wawanqa. Hinaspas  
 chay p'asñaq mamitanmanqa wawanta entregayarapun  
 Jaliscoqa. Hinaspas Jaliscomanqa pagayupusqaku  
 aychata, ovejata, askhata mikhunakunanpaq  
 410 q'epiriyukuspa ripun Jaliscoqa kuisqa.  
 Chayllapi tukupun.



Informant #1

Story 1: The Mouse That Hoodwinked the Fox

- 1 Huk llaqtapis tiyasqaku huk abuelitawan huk  
machulitawan. Hinaspas chaypis huertankus  
kasqa. Huertankus kasqa: t'ika huerta,  
manzana huerta, durazno huerta, imaymana  
5 fruta huertakunas ya kasqa.  
Hinaspa chaypi huk huk'uchas kasqa  
ya. Hinaspas kasqa chay huk'ucha. Pasaqta  
tukun chay huertataqa riki. Suwakuq haykun  
riki. Chay manzanakunatas mikhumun, t'ikakunatapas,  
10 lliuta. Nas ya, pasaqtas ya, pasaqtas ya  
malograykapun chaykunata.  
"Imanasaq?" nintaq qhari. T'oqomá  
lliuta, kanchata lliuta, t'oqokunanta wesq'an.  
T'oqo wesq'aqtinpas hukta t'oqorqamullantaqsi  
15 huk'uchaqa, hinaspa t'oqontas haykurqollantaq.  
Tutamantaqa ya lliu pasaqtas chayqa huk manzanatas  
ya lliuta mikhurqarisqapullantaq, t'ikapas  
lliuta. Pasaqta destrozasaq karaqapullantaq riki,  
pampapikama t'ikakunapas hina.  
20 "Imatataq kunan ruwasunchis?" nispa  
nin parlayunku riki machulitawan abuelitawan riki  
parlayunku.  
Hinaqa abuelitanqa nin riki machulitantaqa,  
"Ama zonzochu kasunyá! Kunanqa huk runata, yana  
25 runata ruwarukusunchis!" nispa nin.  
"Arí, carajo! Huk yana runata ruwarukusunchis!"  
nispa nin. Hinaspaqa riki breata maskhanku,  
rantimunku. Breata rantimuspaga riki, runata  
breamanta runata ruwakunku riki. Hatun runata  
30 ruwarqonku hinaspa punkuman sayarqachinku riki.  
Punkuman sayarqochinku chayqa.  
Tutayaqtinga, huk'uchaqa hamullantaq  
riki, carajo, huk'ucha - 'raton' ninku castellanopiqa  
riki. Chay huk'ucha hamun, hinaspa huk'uchaqa  
35 riki, "Yau, negro, hatariy chaymanta!" nin. Manasyá  
hatarinchu negroqa.  
Carajo, muyushan, wichayman pasan,  
urayman pasan, muyushan ahina. "Yau, negro!  
Hatariy, carajo! Hatariy ha! Paqtataq saqmaykiman,  
40 carajo!" nispa. Manasyari negroqa kashanchu.  
Mana kuyurinchu, imatapas uyarinchu riki na;  
negrosya muñeca hina chaypi yanqa rumi hina  
churayashan. Chaysi imatapas entendenpas negro.  
Huk'uchaqa nintaqsi riki, "Kayqa runan, kaypiqa



- 50 yana runa," nimpascha riki. "Hatarinqa!" nin  
chay riki chayqa. Hukta renegarukunsi huk'ucha  
kaqta saqman huk'uchataq, carajo, "Negro, carajo,  
kachariway, negro, carajo! Kachariway, negro!"  
Mana kacharinchu. Makinsi pegarakapun huk'uchaqqa
- 55 breamanqa riki. Saqmaqtin, carajo, hinaspa  
makinta pegakapun. Hinaspa, "Kachariway, negro,  
carajo!" Huk makiwan saqmaspa, "Kay makiypiraqmi  
fuerza kashan! Chaywan waqmaspa, imataraq  
ruwasayki, carajo! Ch'usaqta tukuchisayki!"
- 60 nispas huk makinwan saqmallantaq, carajo. Huk  
makinwan saqmaqtin, huk makinta pegarakapullantaq,  
carajo, kay negrota, carajo. "Hatariy, negro,  
carajo! Kachariway, negro, carajo! Hayt'asayki,  
carajo! Imataraq ruwasayki kunan, carajo! Chakiypi
- 65 fuerza kashan!" nin. Hayt'an chakinwan, chakinwan  
pegarakapullantaq, ya esta. Hinaqa kayqa huk  
chakinwannataq chayachin kayqa huk chakin  
pegarakapullantaq.
- "A ver, carajo, kachariway, negro!"
- 70 nin. "Zurriagoywan kunanqa soq'arusayki, carajo!  
Zurriagoywan soq'aspa iskaymanraqmi t'ipirakusayki,  
carajo!" nispas nin. Chupanwan riki chayachin riki,  
carajo. Soq'an chupan pegarakapullantaq breaman.
- Hinaqa, huk'uchaqa nin riki, "Imanasaqtaq
- 75 kunanri, carajo? Kachariway, negro, carajo!  
Umaypiraq kunan fuerza kashan. Umaypi kunan guapo  
fuerzayoq, carajo! Umaywan takaspa imataraqmi  
ruwasayki kunanqa!" nispas umanwan takan riki,  
umanwan takan. Umansi pegarakapullantaq huk'uchaq
- 80 riki.
- Imananqataq huk'uchas tariykaraqtin?  
"Kiruypin kashan, carajo!" Kiruwan hukta khamun  
riki, yasta kirunsi pegarakapullantaq. Hina  
chaypi riki hasta p'unchayyamun riki, pacha
- 85 paqarimun riki.
- Hinaspa riki abuelitawan chay machulitawanqa  
riki rinku riki rikch'arispaga tutamantaqa; fuera  
rinku. Hina chay huk'uchata tarin riki, carajo,  
pegaraqapun! "Kaytaq kay alqo, carajo! Kay kay  
manzanakuna, kay huertakuna malogra qaq, carajo!
- 90 Kunanqa hap'iykichu? Manachu hap'iykichu, carajo?"  
nispas. Hap'iruspa apakarqosqa riki. Warkurunku  
riki; huk k'aspiman warkurqonku riki. K'aspiman  
chaytaqa warkurukunku. Maysi karuman warkurqamunku
- 95 riki. Hinaspa warkurayashan chaypi riki hinaspa.  
Hinaspa qonqansi. Imananqataq? Unayna warkun  
p'unchayashaqtinna warkurayan riki. Tutapas  
illariyta hina warkuriq karqan riki.
- Hinaspaqa riki, chayta hamun riki, atoq
- 100 hamun chayta, carajo. Atoq hamusqa riki, chay zorro  
riki - castellanopi 'zorro' ninku - chay atoq hamun.



- "Diego," nin riki. "Diego," ninakunku ya riki.  
 "Diego, imatan chaypi ruwashanki?"  
 "Ah, qanpaqqa imapas? Imaraqchá, carajo?"  
 105 'Ususiywan kasaray,' nispataq niwan, chaymi manataq  
 ususinwan kasarayta munanichu ñoqaqa. Hinaspaqa  
 chaymi warkurqowanku," nin. "manachu qan kasarawaq?"  
 nin riki.  
 "Kasaraymanyá!"  
 110 "Haku, qhari kay hinas qanta warkurukusayki,  
 carajo! Hamunqa hinaqtin, tutamanta hamunqa hinaspa  
 soq'asunki, 'Chay ususiykiwan kasarasaqmi,  
 ususiykiwan kasarasaqmi,' nispaga ninki," nin.  
 Hinaqa warkurukun riki. Watuwan warkurqon atoqta  
 115 riki, carajo, Antoniota. Huk'ucha pasan riki.  
 Maytachas pasakun riki.  
 Hina warkurayakushan riki atoqqa.  
 Hinaspa hamun riki abuelitawan machulitawan  
 hinaspa tarirqan riki. "Kay saqraqa, carajo,  
 120 imamanñataqmi tukurqon?" nispaga nin. "Dale, carajo!"  
 Pasaqtapunis lliuta wañurichinpunis ya zorrotaqa.  
 Hinaspa hasta wañunñas chayqa, secotapunis waqtaspa  
 ruwarakapun hinaspa. "Wanunñas kayqa riki!"  
 wikch'un riki. Hinaspa wikch'un hinaspaqa riki,  
 125 hayt'acha wikch'un riki chay qaga ukhuta  
 wikch'uykamun riki.  
 Hinaqa riki hinaspa chaymanta kausarin  
 riki. Hinaspas yarqaymantaq pasaqsi ya. Hinaqa  
 riki purin; Diego maskhaq purin riki. Diegotaga  
 130 chaypi tarin riki. Hinataq t'oqotas chaypi  
 pampatas t'oqoyuchashasqa chaypi. "Ah, kunanqa  
 chayta ruwawanki, Diego, carajo! Kunanmi kunan,  
 qan kunan kaypi mikhusayki, carajo!" nin.  
 "Ah qanpaqqa imapas imaraqchá, carajo!"  
 135 nin. "Nina paras chayanqa! Nina ch'ikchis chayanqa!  
 Wayra wayranqa! Chaypi pasaqtas ruphawasunchis!  
 Kay wayras apawasunchis! Chaypaqmi kay t'oqollapiñas  
 escapasunchis. Chaypaqmi kayta ruwashani!" nispaga nin.  
 "Ah," hinaspa riki creeykushan riki hinas  
 140 chay niqtin.  
 "A ver si qanpaq kan hatun kashan hinas  
 qanpaqtaq ruwakusunchis. Ahora mediykukuy," nispaga.  
 "Bueno, pues," nin.  
 Pay paq t'oqota ruwaykushan, zorrotaqa  
 145 t'oqoman churakapun. T'oqoman chayllapis,  
 chayllapi hinas t'oqoman churaykun hinaspa kaqta,  
 "Amaña lloqsimunkichu!" nispaga nin. Entonces chay  
 waraqokunawan riki, punkumantaq wesq'ayurqon riki  
 huk'uchaqa, carajo. Hinaqa hina kashan wesq'aranyakushan,  
 150 pasakullantaq huk'uchaqa riki. Diego pasakullantaq  
 hinaqa.  
 Chaymantaqa atoqqa llamiykamushan yarqaymanta  
 pasaqña riki. Yarqaymanta maynacha riki tutawan huk



- 155 p'unchaynacha wasq'arayan riki. Pasan hinaspa  
llamiykamun riki. Llamiykuqtinga, kiskashantaq  
chay waraqoqana. "Chakau, ninallaraqsi!  
Cheqaqtaq, yau! Nina para chayashan!" Hinaqa  
huktawan llamiykun riki, "Chayashasqa!  
Cheqaqpunitaqmi!" nin.
- 160 Entonces pasan, manapunis chayraq  
imatawan aguantanchu. Huk lado t'oqospa riki,  
lloqsimun, hinaspa qhawaykun. Hinaspa waraqowansi  
wesq'arqamun hina.
- 165 Renegaymanta, carajo, wichaytaraqsi  
saltan, carajo, atoqqa riki, carajo. Purillantaq  
riki, maskhan hasta tarin. Chaypi riki atoqqa  
tarillantaq chay hukta huk'uchata tarillantaq  
ya riki. "Ah kunan, kunan qan, carajo, chayta  
ruwawanki riki! Kunanqa mikhusaykipuni," nispá  
170 nin.
- "Ah, qanpaqqa imapas imaraqchá, carajo!"  
nispá nin. Qaqatas chaypi tanqashasqa nispá,  
"Kunan kay qaqas kunan phawarispá lliuta ñut'uwasunchis!  
Kunan sipiwasunchis!" nispá nin. "Chaymi kayta  
175 kunan sosteneshani, carajo!" nin. "Kayllanta  
riki hap'ishani. Si kaychus kunpakamunqa lliuta,  
entonces sipiwasunchis," nispá nin. "Phaway kunanñataq  
rumita aparqamuway!" nispá nin. "Phaway!  
aparqamuway!"
- 180 Purin riki rumi apaq atoqqa riki. Huk  
huch'uychata apansi. "Manan chay! Hatunta  
apamuy!" nispá nin.
- Huk hatuntas apamullantaq. "Chaytachu?  
Hatuntapuni! Manan chayqa atinmanchu!" nin.
- 185 Manas atoqqa apamun huktapas manan  
contanchu chaytapas. "Qan kayta apashay,  
carajo! Noqa aparqamusay, hinaqa qan, carajo,  
cargarinki." Hinaspaqa zorrota chay atoqtaqa  
riki engañaykullantaq riki. "Kayta qan  
190 hap'ishay. Allillantan tanqanki, carajo, chaytaq  
escaparqamushan!" nispataq. "Sipiwasunchis."  
Khaynataqsi wikch'ullantaqqa Diego riki, chay  
Diegoqa hinallatas wikch'ullantaq. 'Diego'  
chay nishanchis. Chay huk'ucha 'Diego' ninakunku  
195 chay atoqwan zorrowan ratonwanqa chayqa. Hinata  
riki zorroqa tanqaykushan chaypi hina maytacha  
riki Diegoqa pasakapullantaq riki maytaña.
- Hina ya tanqaykuspa mana askhanas ya  
hinaspas kachatatán riki, atoqqa riki, "Nachu  
200 urmayamunqana? Nachu urmayamunqana? Manas ya  
qaqa kuyurinpaschu. Imananpaschu!
- Hukta renegaymanta zorroqa pasallantaq  
riki, carajo, zorroqa riki huk'ucha maskhaq riki.  
Huk'uchata tarillantaq riki, "Aha, kunan engañawarqanki,  
205 carajo! Kunanqa ichaqa kunanña kaq yastá mana kunanqa



- librakunkichu!" nin. "Qanpaqqa imapas imaraqcha!"  
 nispa nin. Llant'ata llant'aykushasqa chaypi  
 huk'uchaqa. "Qanpaqqa, carajo, paqarinmi cargoyoq  
 kani. Cargoy kanqa. Chay cargoy pasaraqtinqa,  
 210 yasta mikhukapuwanki chhayna. Chay chayman  
 invitadokuna hamunqa. Chay imaymana aycha  
 q'aspa kanqa! Mikhuna kanqa! Tomanapas kanqa!  
 Lliu kanqa imaymana chaypi mikhunapaq!" nispa  
 nin riki. "Manachu qan chaypi musicota yachankitaq?  
 215 Musicoy musico kawaq," nispa nin. "Musico kawaq  
 riki tocapuwankiman, cargoypi mana tarishanichu  
 tocaqta," nin. "Bueno anchay anchayta pasaymantaq  
 mikhuyqapuwanki," nispa nin.  
 "Bueno, pues," nispa aceptallantaq riki  
 220 chaypi hinata casollantaq riki zorroqa.  
 Hinaqa riki chay llant'akama lliuta  
 kanchata ruwarqon. Kanchata ruwarqon hinas chay  
 kancha ukhumansi chay atoqtaqa apayukun hinaspas.  
 "Kay ukhullapi qanqa saltanki. 'Wiktur kututu,  
 225 teqreqa teqteq, wiktur kututu teqreqa teqteq,  
 nispa saltanki, hinaspa chay choquy invitadokunatama  
 willamusaq hamunanpaq lliuta. Q'ellu banderayoqkama  
 hamunqa invitadokuna hinaspa ya." Chaypi  
 muyuriqmantas ñataq hap'irqachimun chay huk'uchaqa.  
 230 Hinaspansi qhawarin zorroqa riki. Hinaspa  
 riki chaytas cercayamushansi nina riki. Nina riki  
 cercayamushan ninaqa riki. "Chaytaña hamushanku,  
 yau, carajo, invitadokuna ñas kaypiñataqqa!" nispa  
 ñas astawan saltaykushan chaypi riki atoqqa riki.  
 235 Tocaykushan riki hasta riki yasta chayllatañas cerca  
 yasta kayllapiña, kayllapiña hasta atoqman riki  
 chay llant'a kanchaman chayamun. Llant'a kancha  
 lliuta hap'iripun riki hinaspa ruphaykapun hasta  
 que hornopi hina riki hasta atoqqa yaqa hasta  
 240 chaypi cociyakapun riki. Lliutas ya aycha aycha  
 q'aspas q'asparakapun huk'uchaqa zorrotas pasaqta.  
 Chaypi huk'ucha gananpunis ya atoqta hina.  
 Atoq zonzo kayninpi perdenpuni. Atoq hina  
 yachaysapa nispa ninku, hinas atoq hinas zorro  
 245 astuto ninku, eh? Rimayku chaypi maytaq atoqqa  
 zonzopuniya riki hina. Huk'uchaman ganachikun.  
 Chaypi vidanta acabanpunis ya huk'ucha. Chay  
 hinata nispa nispataq hinas ya chay cuento chay.
-

Story 1: The Mouse that Hoodwinked the Fox and the Skunk

- 1 Huk ratoncito karan, hinaspas zorritaman  
nisqa, "Hap'iy kay qaqata ama ñut'usunkimanpas!  
Hap'inki kusata! Ama kacharinkichu! Noqa  
hamusaq," nispa. "Noqaña risaq." Zorraqa  
5 hap'iysin chaypi qaqata ama ñut'unanpaq, nispa  
ratoncito qaqamanta, "Qhaway!" asiyukuspa nin,  
zorraqa chaypi cansadallañan kashan.  
"Kunan rikuwallanki, compadre raton.  
Mikhurakapusqayki! Qanqa kaypi yanqata hap'ichiwanki  
10 kay qaqata! Kunan mikhurakapusqayki, compadre  
Antonio!" nispa nin.  
"Ah, ama, compadrito, ama mikhuwaychu!  
Ama mikhuwaychu, compadre!" grito. "Ama mikhuwaychu.  
Noqa risaq chaqayta. Huk corralpi kanmi askha  
15 borregokuna. Hinaspa ama. . . Chaypi quedamunki,"  
nispa. "Ama. . . borregotama. . . Chay ukhu  
chayllapi qan tiyamunki," niq chay ukhu chayllamanta.  
"Noqamá risaq apamusaq borregota mikhunanchispaq,"  
nispa nin.  
20 Hinaspa zorra chayllapi tiyasqa,  
"Hinacha apamunqa borregota mikhunaypaq," nispas.  
Chaypi tiyasqan zorra. "Manan hamunchu!  
Manan hamunchu! Antonio mana compadre. Antonio  
manan hamunchu!" rabiasqa pasan zorra. "Kunitallan,  
25 compadre Antonio, mikhurakapusqayki! Yanqata  
tiyachiwashanki!  
"Ama, compadrito, huk torota ñak'arakapusqayki!  
Kayllapi tiyaykuy, compadre. Noqa risaq. Aparamusaq  
torota!"  
30 Zorra chaqaypi tiyaykushan samallanña.  
Hinaspas pasan. "Imayna chay compadre engañawashanmi?  
Manachu hamun?" nispas pasan zorra. "Ay,  
kunitallanpuni mikhurakapusaq!"  
"Ay, comadre, manan atinichu. Mancha  
35 hatun toroqa wakrayoq, manaña atinichu apamuytaqa,  
comadre! Qanwan aswan iskayninchis risun sipirakapusun,  
mikhurakapusun!  
"Yanqan, comadre!"  
~ "Ah, ama, comadre, ama mikhuwaychu!  
40 Noqa risaq chaqayta, y risaq chaqayta. . . Quesotan  
rikuni, comadrита!" nispa ninsi. Inti, lunawan  
rikhusqa queso hina.  
Hinaspa nisqa, "Ay, comadre, amaraq mikhuri. . .  
Chay quesotaraq hamurqokamuy, mikhukusun!" nisqa zorra.



- 45 Hinaspa nispá yakuta tomayushan zorraqa pilon  
hina siki hina siki lloqsiramusqa yaku.  
Wañurakapusqa zorra.
- Chaymantañataq zorrinota zorrinowan  
Antoniowan tuparapusqanku huk ñanpi, nispá  
50 ninsi, "Yau, zorrino, mayman rishankiri?"  
"Anchaytaqa rishani."  
"Yau, yau, compadre, nina paran  
chayamunqa kunan p'unchau!"  
"Chay ciertochu, compadre?"  
55 "Cierto, compadre! Chayaramunqa nina  
para!  
"Compadre, aswan pakarapuway kunan,  
pakarapuway kunan p'unchau ama wañunaypaq nina para  
chayamuqtinga!"  
60 "Aswan, compadrito, chay ukhu wasiymi  
kan, pero hatun wasiymi. Wichayman yaykapapakunki!  
Hinaqsi ñoqa chaymantan, compadre, ñoqa chaypi  
sumaqa wesq'arusaq, hinas mana nin para  
chayamusunkichu, mana raurapasunkichu nin," nispá  
65 nin, ninsi.  
Hinaspañataq ukhuchaman zorrinotas  
p'ampayusqaku. Kiskakunata churayusqa rumi  
pataman. Hinaspas ichhukunata churayamusqa.  
Hinaspa chay huk'uchapas zorrinowan kashan.  
70 "Ay! Ay! Nina para chayashan!"  
"Manaraq, compadre, manaraq. Chayllapi  
tiyay, chayllapi tiyay, compadre! Nina para  
chayashan, pero manaraq, compadre."  
"Ah, pero wawaykuna quedakapun!"  
75 ~ "Ah, ama pensaychu wawaykikunapaq.  
Ñoqan risaq. . . ñoqan apapusaq wawaykikunata.  
Profesor ñoqan; yachachisqa. Profesor kani,"  
nispas, "aparusaq zorrinitokunaman! Hinaspas  
apayusaq chayta."  
80 Zorrino nispá nisqa, "Ñoqa. . . Nina  
paran chayamushaña ya wawaykunari?"  
"Nan wawaykikuna 'willulla, willulla,  
willulla,' leeyta yachashaña!" nispá rinsi  
apaq suwa huk'ucha. Hinaspa huk'uchaqa  
85 wawankunatas mikhurakapusqa y compadrentaqa  
huk'ucha tapayukusqa wañunanpaq compadren.  
Pero manan wañunchu; lloqsirakapusqa.  
Chayman lloqsiykapuqtin, tariparusqa  
huk'uchatas y nisqa, "Ay, compadre! Imaman  
90 lloqsiranki compadre sichus ninaraq para chayaramun?  
Wawaykikunaqa ñan aparuniña. Huk llaqtapiñan  
kashanku."  
Pero raton mikhurakapusqa wawankunata.  
"Ñan profesor, ñau, sumaqla. Kunan huk llaqtapi  
100 kunan ensinashaña, profesor ñan kashan wawayki,"  
nispá enganamusqa zorrinoman, wawankunata mikhurakapusqa.

Story 2:     The Death of Tupac Amaru

- 1     Inkakunaqa antesqa creerqa sol diosninta.  
Paykunaqa adoraraykunku todo. . .sol. . .  
dios hinata adoraykunku soltaqa. Paykuna  
paykuna creerqan chaypitaqqa sol diosnin.
- 5             Hinaspa españolkuna hamuqtinna pay  
manan ariykurqakuchu. Manan ni wakatapas,  
ni armaskunatapas, ni caballotapas, de esos  
kankuchu. Chay españolkunana apamuqtinqa,  
hinas mancharisqallaña qhawayusqanku.
- 10     "Imataq kaykuna riki?" Hinaspañataq kay  
españolkuna hamuqtinku, paykuna, "Ima kay?  
Paykunachu mejor hina kay noqanchis hina  
karqachu? Noqanchis mejor kasun aswan!"  
nispa guerrapiqa paykunaqa lloqsikapusqanku.
- 15             Chaymanta riki chay guerrapi lloqsinku  
wañurqachinkuya Inkata. Estirarqon caballo  
piecha piechamanta, makichamanta. Lliuta  
estiraspana wañuchinku. Manapas chay atinchu  
wañuyta.
- 20             Hinaspataq chaymantaqa manaraq wañun.  
Chaymantaqa siminta lenguenta kuchurusqanku.  
Chaymantaqa kuchusqa, manaraq wañusqachu hinaspa.  
Makinkunamanta kuchusqanku. Chakinmanta  
kuchusqanku. Hinaña wañuchisqanku. Lliuta
- 25     pobrecito sufrispa wañuchisqanku españolkuna.  
Chayta ruwasqanku.
- Hinaspañataq warmin sutin Micaela,  
Inkaq warminmi. Warminpas llakisqallaña  
puriq. Millayta sufriyuspa paytapas hap'inku,
- 30     waqtayunku. Hinatas sipiyunkupas paytaqa.  
Warminta Inkaq warminta sipirqonku. Español  
chayta ruwasqa.
-



Story 3:     The Girl Who Married a Fox

- 1       Huk zorro huk señoritaman risqa. Wasinman  
yaykakapusqa zorro. Hinaspa chay zorro hamusqa  
nin señoritaman, "Ay, señorita, imaynallan kashanki?"  
          "Allinmi kashani. Imaynallan qan  
5       kashanki? Maymantan hamushanki?"  
          "Kayninta purikushani visitaq hamuni,"  
nispaspa nin zorro.  
          Hinaspas señorita nin, "Tiyaykuyyá!  
Samarikuy! Ñoqa puñukushaniña," nispaspa nin  
10       señorita zorroman. Hinaspa zorro tiyaykun,  
pero zorro rin allin cambiayukuspa; sumaqta  
zorro risqa.  
          Hinaspañataqsi zorro nispaspa, "Ay, señorita,  
enamoraquni qanmanta, señorita. Chaymi visitamushayki."  
15       "Ay, maypitaq rikuwaraqanki?"  
          "Puriqta rikuyki, señorita," nispaspa.  
"Kunan hamushani parlaq qanman. Enamoraquni  
qanmantaqa. Munawankichu, manan?"  
          "Ay, allinta! Imayna mana munakuykimanchu!"  
20       nin señorita. Hinaspa zorroqa chay parlakushanku  
iskayninku. Hinaspanataq zorro ripun, señorita  
quedakapun.  
          Hinaspas tutamantakama hatarin. Hinaspataq  
nin, "Mama, mama!"  
25       "Imatan munanki?" nispaspa nin.  
          "Huk muchacho hamun, hinaspa rimayku.  
Kasarakusun," nispaspa.  
          "Mayninta yaykuran chay muchachori?"  
          "Puñunayman yaykukapun."  
30       "Mayninta chay riki yaykumun? Imaynaqa  
mana sentisqa ñoqa, ni allqopaschu kanin, ni  
allqopas kaninchu? Imaynantaq yaykun chay mistiri?"  
          "Allin misti kasqan, mamay! Aswan  
kasarakusaq!"  
35       Hinaspañataq, "Kasarakuyyá!" nispaspa nin  
maman.  
          Hinaspañataq lloqsimusqa calleta chay  
chika. Huk amiganwan tupayukusqa. Hinaspa  
nispaspa nin, "Ay, amiga, llakisqa kashani!"  
40       "Imayna? Imamanta llakikushankiri?"  
nispaspa nin.  
          "Kasarakusaqmi."  
          "Ay piwan kasarakunki?"  
          "Huk qhariwan kasarakusaq. Qanchu?  
45       Manaraqchu kasarakunki?"  
          "Ay ñoqapas enamoradoymi kanmi. Aswan  
kasarakuyman!"  
          "Kasarakusaq ñoqapas. Ñan payañan kashani,

- ñan payañañan kashani, quedakapuymanñataq soltera.  
 50 Aswan kasarakusaq."
- Hinaspa, "Kunan tarde hamunqacha nimusaq  
 mañawachun makiyta mamaymanta. Hinaspa aswan  
 kasarakusaq ñoqapas," nin.
- Chaymanta, "Ay triste vidanchisqa ñoqas  
 55 maymancha riki ñoqapaq?"
- "Ay, pero qan, imatan pensanki? Ay ñoqaq  
 enamoradoyqa allin wiraqocha distinguido! Manan  
 huk p'achatapas churakunchu, huklla p'achallawan  
 churakun. Kunan enamoradoymi allinmi! Simpático  
 60 enamoradoymi! Acaso pipas kan? Acaso cualquierapas  
 kanmanchu, allin misti?" nin.
- Hinaspa nin, "Mana ñoqaqqa enamoradoyqa  
 ima colorwanpas p'achayukunmi. Manan distinguikunchu,  
 ni ima p'achamanta ima ricotapas p'acharikun."  
 65 "Ay ñoqaqqa enamoradoy allinta p'acharikun,  
 decente, distinguido familia, visitaykamun!"
- "Ah rikuy, qantacha rikuy. Distinguido  
 familia, no ves? Qan sapallay wawa kanki. Chaycha  
 rikuy. Ma mistitapas hamusunki," nispa nin.
- 70 Hinaspataq chay chica nin, "Noqa nisaq,  
 kunan nisaq enamoradoytaña ñoqapas yaykuchun  
 mamayman, mamayman rimachun."
- Hinaspañataq nisqa pay. Nimusqa chica,  
 "Mamay, aswan kasarakusaqña. Chicota nisaq  
 75 hamuchun, kunan horqowachun, makiyta ñan pedimuwachun,  
 hinaspa kasarakusaqmi."
- Hinaspañataq, "Ay kasarakuy, yau, waway!"  
 nispas.
- Zorro hamusqa, ninsi zorro, "Novia,  
 80 kunanqa kasarakusunña! Ama chhaynaqa tiyasunchu!  
 Kasarakusunmi." Hinaspa, "Mamayta pusaykamusaq,  
 taytayta pusayakamusaq hinaspa makitana pedipusqayki,  
 horqokapusqaykiña. Aswan kasarakusunllaña," nispa  
 nin zorro.
- 85 Hinaspataq nin, señora nin, "Ima, pero  
 kayllachu p'achayki? Manachu p'achayki kan?"
- "Mana. Niykitaq ñoqan kani persona  
 distinguido. Manan noqa churakuymanchu. Taytaypas  
 mamaypas llapallayku chhaynalla p'achakuyku.  
 90 Chhaynalla p'achaymi. Sichus mana munawankichu  
 chhayna p'achayqta, amapis kasarakusun!"
- "Mana, noqa munakuyki! Imaq chhaynata  
 niwanki? Allin persona distinguidotachu manachu  
 munayman?" nispa nin.
- 95 Hinaspa apamusqa mamanta taytanta paywan  
 kinsantin chayamusqanku señoritaq wasinman. Hinaspas  
 nisqa, "Ay, mamitay, kay regalota apamushayki. Kunan  
 apamuni kay borregokunata, mamitay. Manan ñoqaqpaqqa  
 toroychu kan ni wakaypas. Borregollata uywakuni;  
 100 chayta apamuyki, mamitay."



- Noviotaq nisqa, "Ay, mamitay, ñoqa kunitallan ñak'arapusqayki borregotaqa. Caldota ruwapuwanki. Señoritaqa caldota preparaykuwanqa tomananchispaq, mamitay," nispa nin. Chaymanta caldota preparan novia. Hinaspa chaypi makinta mañayushan maman, taytan. Pero chay p'achallawan puriykushanku.
- Hinaspataq kasarakun, hinaspataq ñan hamunñan kasarakuq. Zorrokunaqa risqanku mayuman. Hinaspa chaypi maqchhiyukusqanku llapa zorrokuna maqchhiyukusqanku. P'achanta maqchhiyukusqa zorra. Allin limpiollañan hamusqanku persona.
- Hinaspa puñuq risqa zorro. Manan puñusqachu chay tuta zorro. Hinaspa nisqa, llapa zorrokunata, zorrokunata mamanwan, torankunawan parlarikusqa, "Ay, paqarirqan, mamitay, matrimonioyman. Manan puñuypas aysawanchu. Imanaykusaqtaq kunan, mamitay?"
- "Ay chaycha rikuyman. Imata regalokunata apasun? Borregollata q'epiyukusun llapa tropa borregota!" saman. Llapa zorrokuna borregota q'epiykusqanku matrimonioman rinanpaq. Oooooe! askhallaña borrego tropanta q'epiyukusqanku borregokuna. Hinaspas hunt'a corralninta borregokunata q'epiyusqanku zorrokuna. Chaymantaqa zorrokuna matrimonioman ñan pasaykushanku iglesiaman. Kasarakuqña rinku zorro.
- Hinaspas zorro nin, "Manan, mamitay, kunanqa bandata apamuwankichu. . .manan munanichu bandata, ni cohetetapas. Charangollapi tusuriykusun. Familiaykunaga manan chayta gustanchu! Mancharikuyku!"
- "Ima manchariykuwaqchu? Acaso manchanan bandaqa cohetekunaga mana. Ay sapallaymi wawayqa! Ima mana kasarakunmanchu chay bandapi? Imatacha ni runakunapas rimawanman?"
- "Manan, mamitay! Sichus bandata munanki apamuyta, aman kasarakusaqchu, mamitay, aswan ripukusaq! Ripukusaq, mamitay.
- "Manan, hijo! Ima chhaynata wawayta despreciawaq? Wawayqa sapallanmi! Acaso askha wawaypas kanchu?" nispa nin. "Wawayqa munasunki. Distinguido persona," nispas.
- Llapa visitaqkuna rinña sapalla wawa matrimonioman. Pasanku llapa. Familiankuna, señorankuna, invitadokuna chayamun matrimonioman. Hinaspa runakuna nisqa, "Ay persona distinguido chay wiraqocha! Yau, maymantan hamunku kay mistikuna, señoritakuna sumaqlaña, yau?"
- Llapa runakuna simillanpi, "Chay persona distinguida, persona distinguida," nispas rimayushanku.
- Chaymantaqa matrimoniomanta llapa runakuna wasinmanña pasanku, noviaq wasinman. Hinaspa señora



- novia tususqa noviowan. Llapa zorrokuna  
distinguidokama wayñuta tusuyushasqanku zorrokuna  
155 llapanku. Hinaspañataq chaypi tusuyuschanku.  
Novio tususqa.  
Chaymantañataq aparamusqa familiankunataq,  
warmiq familiantaq aparamusqa bandata, coheteta.  
Tocayachisqanku banda. Oooooee, aplaudisqanku  
160 sumaqta fiestapi. Chaymantañataq hukta zorro,  
llapa zorrokuna pasapusqanku. Señoritamá waqaspa  
quedayukusqa.  
Hinaspa runakuna qhepanta phawayusqanku  
maskhaq. "Mayman ripun chay qhari ricori?  
165 Mayman chay familia? Maypi tiyan? Kunitallan  
risun! Aparqamusun!" nispa qhepanta phawayusqanku.  
Hukkunayá aypasqanku. Hinaspa nisqa,  
"Manan runa kasqachu! Zorro kasqa!" nispas.  
"Imayna zorro kanman?" noviaqa huk  
170 cuartopi wesq'akamun, chaypi waqasqa qharinmanta.  
Hinas, "Qan, mamay, hucha sapa kan. Imata  
qhariytaq pay niwarqa? 'Ama bandata apamuwankichu,  
ni cohetetapas!' Kanka causayki kunan. Qhariyqa  
pasakapun."  
175 "Ama waqaychu, señorita! Acaso runa  
runachu kasqa. Zorron kasqa, señorita. Yanqa  
waqanki!"  
"Ima zorro kanmanmi? Qhariymi allin  
misti, distinguido persona! Qanpa causaykichis  
180 si ripukapun!" nispa waqan.  
"Manan, señorita, zorrokuna kasqa!  
Quebradakunaman mayu ukhunta pasarakapun. Chay  
huk zorro qhawayukuspa ripushan," nispa.  
Chaymantaqa señorita ñan convencenmi.  
185 "Ciertocho? Mamankuna llapa hina, llapa runakuna. . .  
Zorrochu kanman? Imataq zorro kanman?"  
"Arí, zorro!" nispa nin.  
Chaymantaqa tutamantakama, tutamanta,  
huk señora hamun borregonkunata maskhaspa. Hinaspas  
190 nin, "Señora icha borregoykuna tropaykiman  
troparukun?"  
"Manan, señora."  
"Icha kaypi borregoykuna, señora?"  
"Manan. Kay wawaymi kasarakun khayna  
195 p'unchau."  
"Imaynataq pasan? Chaypaqchu borregoykuna  
llapanta q'epiyukuspa hamunku?" nispa nin.  
"Willarusqayki. Tiyaikuy. Willasqayki chay,  
kay pasawasqa. Zorro kunannataq enamorakusqa  
200 wawaymanta," nispa.  
"Ima, zorro enamorakunmanchu ari?"  
"Enamorakurqa zorrotaq wawaymanta,  
hinaspa llapa borregoykita, chaycha rikuy, corralniypi  
kashan borregoykikunaqa, chaycha rikuy!"



- 205 "Borregoykunachu? Arí, borregoymi!"  
"Ima kay supay zorrokunataq imachaq  
q'epiyukusqaku zorro? Ima pasawan, mamitay?  
Khaynata sufrishani kunan. Wawaytaq manan  
comprendewanchu. Imanaqkusaqtaq?" nispá nin.
- 210 Chaymantaqa, "Ay chay claro wawayki  
sapalla misti wawaykiri zorrowantaq kasarachinki.  
Huk allin runata maskhawaq. Maymanpas apawaq  
wawaykitaqa allinta lucikunanpaq! Imata qan  
kaypi zorrowan kasarachishanki!" nispas rimamunku.
- 215 Hinaspas ñan tukurukunña kunan.
-

Informant #36

Story 1: The Condor Who Beat the Fox

- 1 "Atoq, hakuchu, pasearakamusun. Yo soy  
condor," nispas. "Vamos, hakuchu, orqo  
patata puriramusunchis! Noqaqa condormi  
kani, qantaq atoq. Hakuyari compañaykusunchis  
hermanontin. Haqay rit'i pataman chayasun,  
5 chayman chayasun mayqenkaqcha, hinaqa  
mikhukunki. Mikhuwanki noqata mana  
chayamuqtiy, chayamuqtiytaq, qanta mikhusayki."  
"Hakuyari! Purisun, purisun!"  
"Atoq, hamushankichu?"  
10 "Hamushanin!"  
"Atoq, hamushankichu?"  
"Hamushanin! Condor, maypin kanki?"  
"Na, noqaqa chayashaniña orqo pataman!  
Atoq, hamushankichu?"  
15 "Hamushanin!"  
"Chayamushankiñachu?"  
"Manan chayamunichu, chiri atiwashan."  
"Atoq, apurayta chayamuy! Kaypin  
suyashayki!"  
20 "No puedo, manan atimunichu, condor,  
hamuyta!"  
"Kunanqa qan mayyá, tupasunki  
mikhurisayki chay riki kunanqa, atoq!"  
"Mikhuyupuguay ari. Manan atinichu."  
25 Qan vencewanki, wayqey!"
-



Story 2: The Fox Who Wanted to Whistle Like the Partridge

- 1 "Zorrito, maytan rishanki?"  
"Paseaqmi rishanin."  
"Ñoqaqa kani lluthu. Hakuchu, purirakamusun.  
"Hakuyá, pero ñoqa ñaupasaq, pero qan  
qhepayta hamuyña qan tocanke pitota."  
5 "Hakuyá!"  
"Pero yachachiway tocaya pitoykita."  
"Pero qanpaqa hatunyá simiyki!"  
Imaynatataq tocanke ñoqa hinari? Pero munanki  
hinaqa simiykita cerrarusayki q'aytuwan, hinaqa  
10 ñoqa hina tocanke pitota orqo patakunapi. Ñoqaqa  
kani guapo tocaspa, pitoyta tocaspa purini hinaqa  
sumaq purini wawakunantin. Qanri? Manan ñoqaq  
simiymi hatun."  
"Hinaqa manan atinichu qan hina pitota  
15 tocaya. Q'aytutas hinaqa aparakamusaq hina  
cerraruwanki."  
"Ya, aparakamuy. Ya cerrasqaña simiyki,  
kunanqa hamunki qhepayta, ñoqataq ñaupasaq."  
"Hakuyá, haku!"  
20 "Ya."  
"Lluthu, kunanqa tocashanin!"  
"Ari, kunanqa contentocha kashanki  
simiyki cerrasqata pito hina wagasqa, pero  
suyashawanki kay orqo qhepapi, ñoqataq muyurusaq  
25 kay orqota."  
"Ya, lluthu. Puriy, puriy puriy!"  
Lluthu, lluthu, lluthu!"  
"Ocultaykurukunin kunanqa."  
"Pitoyta tocaspa volasaq!"  
30 "Kunanqa simiyki qhasukunchu?"  
"Qhasurakapunmi! Imaynatataq chhaynata  
ruwaranki, wayqey?"  
"Mañayuwankiman chay pitoykitaqa riki!"  
"Manan kaykamallan ñoqaqa pitoyta  
35 mañaykuyki."  
"Kunan ñoqaman tocawan, pitoyta apakapuspa  
ripupusaq! Qanqa qhasu simin kanki! Kaykamallan  
compañakamunchis, zorroy!"  
"Huk p'unchaykamana ari, wayqey!"

Informant #8

Story 1: The Chasquis

- 1 Unay tiempo cuentomanta. Unay tiempos puriqqa  
kasqa. Antiguamente mana carrochu, sino  
chakillankupi puriq kasqaku. Hasta legua  
leguallapi runakuna sayaq kasqa. Papel hamun,  
5 hinaspataqmari purin hasta huk leguaman chayan.  
Anchaypi entregarqon papelta. Yastá hukñataq  
chaymantaqa puripun corriendo. Chaymanta chay  
hukñataq entregarqon. Hinaspaqa hasta maymanpas,  
más que Limamanpas, wak nacionkunaman, Boliviamanpas,  
10 chaymanpas papelta entreganku chaylla. Mana  
karqanchu maquinapas, ni auto. Chayta purirqanku  
hinata puriqkus unay tiempo. Despues. . .  
Bueno, chaylla.
-



Story 2:     The Chasqui and the Condenado

- 1     Bueno, huktañataq. Unay tiempo kasqa condenado,  
runa. . .papel apaq también. Chay papel apaqqa  
puriquqa kasqa. Hinaspas purishan, purishansi,  
tardeyarapun. Chakras chaypi. En chay chakrapiqa  
5     imanantaq? Runaqa chaypi alojaykukun. Alojaykuqtinsi,  
tutayarapun anchaypi punun wasicha cuartochapi.  
Hinaspas cuartochapi nomillo así Sierrapiqa hina  
wasipi riki, así. Anchaypi tijerasman. . .  
          Condenado chaytaña hamun. Hinaspataqsi  
10    hamuqtinga mana imanayta maymanpas qhepayta atinchu  
runaqa, carajo! Chayllaman warkuykurukun chaypi  
runa chay nomillopi.  
          Hinaspataqmari imanantaq? Esto. . .  
Chayllapi kashan. Chayllapi runa, mana peso  
15    mananña riki chay nomilloyoq wasiq k'aspiqa  
allinta aguantannachu pesota, ves? P'akirirqanpunña!  
          Huktas condenadotaqsi chay k'uchun  
k'uchunta cuartota maskharukun, k'uchun k'uchunta.  
Aycha aycha asna hinataq. "Dios Jesucristo asnachu?"  
20    chay aycha asna hinatas maskharukun. Chaymantanataqsi  
maskharun; manapuni tarinchu.  
          Hinaspa killa chay wasi punkupi tiyayukuspas,  
carajo, ch'ullunta hatarukuspa, usakuyta qallarín.  
Usakuspataqsi, esto, "Crrrrrsh!" nispas k'aspi kayqa  
25    manaña p'akirukunanpaq nispas kashan pisillaña riki;  
corren primero. De repente, carajo, runa condenado  
pataman, "Crrrrrrshiyu!" k'aspintin urmaykamun,  
carajo! "Shhh!" escapan condenado, ch'ulluntapas  
chaypi wikch'uspa. Hinaspataqsi seqayukun hasta  
30    orqo. Orqota purin ñanta, caminota, yasta waqayukuspa,  
yupayakuspa, "Waaaah!" Manan kanchu runaqa.  
          Imanantaqsi? Chaymantaqa lloqsiramun  
hinaspaqa wak techo patapiñataqsi punuykun chaypi  
hasta paqarin. Chaymantañas purin.
-

Story 3: The Traveller and the Condenado

- 1 Unay tiempoqa papel apaq puriqsi kasqa ari.  
Papel apaq purishan, purishan. Hinataqsi  
huk barranco punku hina, puerta hina kan  
chaypi. Anchaypiqa purisharqan. Hinaspataqsi
- 5 trapitollas warkurayaqsi kaq kasqa, trapito.  
Entonces chay trapitotaqa papel apaqqa chayninta  
purispaqa chay rumichawan hoqarispas chanqarqon  
chay trapitota. Hinas trapitoqa hinallas  
warkurayashan chaypi.
- 10 Después, tarde purishan, purishan,  
purishan, purishan, ña tardeyayarukunña.  
Hinaspataqsi tardeyayarqapun. Alojakuq  
huk chakras kan chaypi, huk ch'ukllita kan  
chaypi. Anchaypi chaymantataqmari. . .
- 15 Bueno, chaypi puñun.  
Hinaspataqsi huk sipas chaypi pasearqon  
chaypi hinaqa huk warmi chay warmipiwan. Hinaspataq,  
"Ususiyta qosqayki," nispas nin. Hinaspataqsi papel  
apaqqa. . .porfianpunis chay sipasqa. Porfianpunis
- 20 enamorakuyta. Hinaqa imanantaq? Imaginarqokunsi  
hinaqa ari papel apaqqa. Hinaspari imanayta  
mana imaynamanta escaparakuyta mana atinchu, ves?  
Hinatas cosquillata ruwarukusqa. Hinaspataqsi  
nin, "Ama! Naqa p'unchay chanqarqokushawarqanki
- 25 chaymi nanarqoshawan, ama chaytaqa!" nispas nin.  
Chaymantaga hinaspa, hinaspataq, "Ay, ama chaymantag  
khayna chanqarukushanki chaymi nanashawan!" nispas  
nin.
- 30 Hina fijarukusqa hinaqa papel apaqqa  
fijarukusqa, "Este, mana allinchu kayqa! Este  
condenado!" fijarusqa condenado kasqanta.  
Hinaspaqa, "Mana, imaynaman lloqsirqosaq?  
Hispaqqa lloqsirqosaq! Mana kacharinchu."
- 35 Entonces cinturon ha hecho. Chumpinta  
faja kan. Chay paskarukuspa, entonces, "Puntamanta  
hap'imushay ñoqa hisparakamusaq. Kayllamanta  
hap'iy wichawanki," nispa. Hinaspataq condenadoqa  
hap'irayashansi.
- 40 "Haykurqamunqa, haykurqamunqa, haykurqamunqa."  
Watarqon. . . Ramanun planta kan  
chay 'cambio' nisqa; chaymanshi watarusqa.  
Hinaspa escapakapun papel apaq. Anchaypi  
librakun. Anchaymi chay cuento.



Story 4:     The Muleteers and the Bandits

- 1       Unay tiempos arriero kaq kasqa, arriero.  
Entonces kay Arequipamanta viajankus Sierraman.  
Anchay arrierokunaqa, sabes, imatataq ruwaranku?  
Apanku arroz mercaderiakunata Sierraman.
- 5       Montañakunaman viajanku, ves?  
          Hina viajaq kunan chaypi saltadorkunalla  
wañuchipun chay viajerokunata. Mulankunata. . .  
qechupun lliu. . .mercaderiakunata q'alata  
qechun, ves?
- 10       Chaymantaga imatataq ruwan? Ña  
hayk'a askha kutiña saltadorkuna arrierokunata  
narganku q'alata wañuchirqanku. Hinaspataq  
almacenpi apakunku wasinta chaypi quebradaman  
haykuspa.
- 15       Bueno, hinaspaqa imanaq kasqaku  
arrierokunaqa? Por ejemplo pensakunku,  
"Carajo, kayta ruwarukusun!" nispa. Soldadota  
cajonarqonku cajonpi. Hinapi hinas sapa  
mulaman iskay soldadota cargarakunku. Iskay
- 20       soldadota cargarispataqmari chaymun maypin  
chaypi Arequipa ñanpi maypis saltadosqanpi.  
Bueno. . .cajonasqa soldado, no? Chay para  
momentontin. Chaypi hinaspa na paskarparinku  
paskaypiqa maypi jornadasqankupi. Chaypi
- 25       puñurunku. Chaypi puñurunkutaq, alistakushan,  
alistakushan soldadotaqqa arwirirparinku, ves?  
Cajonpi cajonllanta arwirirparinku. Despuestaqmari  
soldadokunaqa chaypiña saltayunña, tutaykushanñas,  
tutaykushanñas. Saltador hamunña. Saltadorkuna
- 30       hamuqtinqa soldadokuna armantin, carajo, "chhheeyu"  
matayta qallarín q'alata saltadorkunata.  
          Hinaspa matarunku chaypi; saltadorkunata  
tukuchapunku. Hinas manaña saltapunku ñachu.  
Saltadorkunaq wasinman purinku. Saltadorkunaq
- 35       wasinpi chalona, mercaderia, arroz, ima varias  
cosaskuna kasqa karqan. Chaymanta así qaq  
mach'aypi chayqa tiyarqan chay saltadorkunaqa,  
raterokunaqa. Chay raterokunata lliuta descubrimunku  
hinaspataq purimuchimunku. Hinaspa recuperakapunku
- 40       chay mercaderiánkunata. Chhaynata unay tiempo  
ruwaq kasqaku. Chaymi chay cuento.
-



Story 5:     The Muleteers and the Bandits (Second Version)

- 1     Manan karganchu maquina ni imapas karganchu más  
que animal; mulalla kargan. Chaypi viajerokuna  
viajaq unay tiempo Potosiman viajarqanku ahina  
Boliviaman aparanku mercaderiakunata. Hinaspaqa  
5     chay chaupi Arequipa ñanpi viajanku unos diez  
días más o menos; doce días, jornadas.
- Entonces el medio jornada, cordillera,  
chaypi viajerokunataqa, arrierokunataqa saltadorkunaqa  
sapa puñusqa tutamuy tutayuqtinga, ña tutayukunñas,  
10     chaymantaqa saltadorkunaqa matarapuqllaña riki  
saltarapunku. Paykunata, runakunata wañuruchirunku  
viajerota. Mulanta recuperanku. Mercaderíanta  
riki recoge ykun, ves? Imanankutaq? Na primera  
vez chayta ruwanku. Na segunda vez ruwallanku  
15     kaqllata viajallantaq riki. Mercaderiakunata  
apashanku Boliviaman. Chaypiqa vuelta ruwarullankutaq.  
Vuelta wañurachipullankutaq viajerokunata lliuta,  
mulankunata.
- Chay saltadorkunapaq kansi ari huk  
20     mach'ay qaga wasi. Cuartokuna kan chaypis.  
Chay mercaderia apasqankutaq, chaypi mejor p'achakuna,  
mejor, que mercadería, ima mercaderiakunataqsi  
apanpis riki? P'achan, imakunatapás, chaykunaqa.  
Chaypis almacenarinku saltadorkunaqa. Almacen hinas  
25     kashan.
- Haqayman chaymanta Sierraman apanku,  
Sierramanta kutimunku chayqa, Potosiman huk  
Boliviamanta apamunku chalonga, imaymanakuna  
aparillankutaqsi haqaymanta. Kutimullankutaq  
30     Arequipaman, ves? Chayqa chaypiqa chalongakunata  
huktawansi vuelta saltadorkunaqa, no ves que  
chaupi ñan ya riki, jornada ñan, doce días,  
chunka iskayniyoq p'unchay puriypiqa chaupi  
ñanpi runataqa, viajerotaqa wañuchipun. Hinaspaqa,  
35     ves, chalongakunata almacenaykun, ch'uñu, ch'uñu blanco,  
imakunataraqsi enterrallantaq.
- Hinaqa imanantaq viajerokunaqa?  
Autoridadkunaga mancharin. Hinaspaqa, carajo,  
mañakunku viajerokuna, arrierokunaqa prefectomantas  
40     mañakunku. Hinaspataqsi soldadotañataq  
cargarakuyta qallarinku, carajo. Ya está.
- Entonces caminoman lloqsimun, carajo.  
Jornada puñunku, jornada puñunku maypichá kan  
saltadorkuna raterokuna, saltadorkuna saltan  
45     yasta chaypi. Paskaykunku, chaypi puñunku  
paskaypi [unclear] paskay. Chay paskaypi puñunku.  
Hinaspataqsi arwirirparinku soldadotaqqa riki,  
mejor que mercaderíata. Tauqarapun cajonta



- 50 Qhawamushanku riki, qatiyamushanku orqokunamanta  
 riki saltadorkunaqa. Por ejemplo kaypi kashanki  
 haqay orqokunamanta qhawamusunku riki tiyayuspa  
 may paskanku, imaynatas ruwanqaku chayta, ves?  
 Paskarparinku riki hinas cajontaqa tauqarparinku  
 riki. Claro, cargataqa apasqa wak simple mercadería  
 55 uno sobre otro tanqarparinchis, no es cierto, viajero.  
 Entonces, chayta ruwarunanpaqqa qhawamushanku.  
 Na, tutayukunñas saltadorkunaqa alistayurunku  
 hinaspa riki, "Carajo, wañurusun, vuelta saltarusun!"  
 nispá riki. Chay tardeqa claro alistayurunku riki,  
 60 carajo. Unos cuantos hay: siete personas; no sé  
 cuantos personas pués. Después rinku tutayukuyta,  
 carajo, runamanqa chaysi viajerokunamanqan.  
 arrieromanqa. Hinaqa mana mercaderías apasqaku,  
 carajo, soldadotaargasqaku chaykunaga. Soldadokuna,  
 65 carajo, saltadorkunata q'alata wañurparichipun,  
 ya ves? Hukkunata hap'irunku wakinta kausaqta  
 hinaspataq hap'iruspaqa maypichari almacenanku  
 chay mercaderiakunata Sierramanta apamusqan  
 chalonakunata, imakunatapas. Chayta apaspa  
 70 arrierokunataqa, raterotaqa qatatishanku mayri  
 soldadokuna lliuta ruwayunku, ves? Anchaypi  
 chay cuento.
-

Story 7:     The Legend of Manko Qhapaq

- 1     Manko Qhapaq chayamuqqa kasqa. Intimanta  
      hamuqqa kasqa kay Americaman. Mana. . .  
      kasqa unay tiempoqa salvaje runakunalla.  
      Chaykunaqa manan vestikuyta yachaq kasqa.
- 5     Familiankuwan como animalpuni tiyaq kasqaku.  
      Sach'akunawan, mana pallay kasqachu, sach'awan  
      vestikuspa, sach'awan vestikuspalla kaq kasqaku.  
      Bueno, hinaqa inti kachamuwaq kasqa
- 10    Manko Qhapaqta qhari warmita, qhariwan esposota,  
      con su hermana. Chayamuq kasqa kay Peruman,  
      Lago Titi Qaqaman.  
      Chay Lago Titi Qaqakama chaymuspaqa  
      imatataq ruwaq kasqa Manko Qhapaqqa qhari warmi  
      esposo chayamuspaqa? Chayamunchaypi.
- 15    Desembarqanku con su waracitan, pués. Chayan  
      Punoman. Departamento Punoman Perupi chayapun.  
      Hinaspaqa chaymantaqa imanaq kasqaku?  
      Chay Manko Qhapaqqa. . .intiqa huk wara de orota  
      qomuq kaq kasqa. "Kay wara de oro maypichari
- 20    chinkanqa anchaypin ciudadta formanki!" nispa niq  
      kasqa chayqa. Manko Qhapaqqa lloqsinpun  
      qochamanta Punoman, Lago Titi Qaqamantan hinaspataq.  
      warata chanqan, pero mana chinkanchu Punopi; chay  
      plantakunchu wara de oroqa.
- 25    Hinaspaqa chay qori wara de oroqa mana. . .  
      Purin payqa, hasta purin maskhaspa chay wara oro  
      mana chinkanchu maypipas.  
      Maypipas chinkanchu, hinaspataqmari  
      purin hasta Qosqokama. Purin montañakunanta
- 30    imayna kunantacha purin. Hinaspataq Qosqoman  
      chayan. Qosqopi chaypi chay wara de oroqa  
      plantarakapusqa. Hinas huk orqo karqan, Cerro de  
      Wanakauri. Chay orqopi plantarukusqa chay oroqa.  
      Hinaspataqmari chaymi Qosqopiqa formayta qallarirqan
- 35    hinaqa ciudadta Manko Qhapaq.  
      Bueno, hinaspaqa Manko Qhapaqqa imatataq  
      ruran qhari warmi? Runakuna tribu q'ala kaq  
      runakunalla karqan chaypi, runakunaqa kan.  
      Runakunata waqyachin. Lliumanta juntaykun.
- 40    Hinaspa runakunata explicayta qallarín.  
      Hinaspataqmari, carajo, qhari Manko Qhapaq hap'in  
      takllata ruwakun. Chay takllata comenzaykun  
      qharikunata yachachin chakra ruwayta, tierra  
      cultivayta.
- 45    Warmitaq yachachirqan Mama Oqllotaqmari  
      wawa uywayta yachachirqan, tejeyta, puskayta,



- wawakuna uywayta yachachirqan. Qharitaqmari  
 tierra cultivayta yachachirqan Manko Qhapaq, ves?  
 Tribukuna, 'tribu' nisqa karqan chay tiempoqa.
- 50 Runakunataq huñurqan. Chay tiempokunaga familian  
 taytantin mamantinpas huñuylla animal hina kausaqku.  
 Chaytaqa siempre autorizarqan ama chay  
 hina nananpaq inti kachamurqan civilizananpaq.  
 Chayqa civilizaran. Hinaspa civilizan. Hinaspaqa
- 55 chay mamantin taytantin, hermanantin kausaqkunataqa  
 kunkanta kuchupurqan, ya está. Chay huchata  
 ruwarqan hinaspaqa. Civilizakapurqan hinaspaqa  
 Runapis sitionman organizakapun. Hinaspa respetota  
 yachapurqanku. Anchayta yacharqan p'acha rurayta,
- 60 animal uywayta. Alpaca karqan kay nacionpi.  
 Chay alpacakunata uywarqanku. Sembrarqanku  
 papata, papa lisata. Ese año, año chayta  
 sembrayta yacharqanku chayta. Chakrata ruwayta  
 yacharqanku unay tiempos. Runakunata yachachirqan
- 65 Manko Qhapaqqa. Inti chayamurqan chaysi, chayri  
 Manko Qhapaqqa civilizan runakunataqa. Chay  
 runakunaga sach'a copitas sach'api frutallawan  
 fruta mikhuq palla riki kaq. Unay tiempo sirvientella,  
 haywaq chay tiempokuna chay karqan. Chay, ves,
- 70 mana p'acha ruwakuy yachaq, mana tierrapas cultivay  
 yachaq. Chaymi chay Manko Qhapaq cuento.
-

## APPENDIX II - RIDDLES

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The English translation of the following riddles and their solutions can be found on pages 119-125. The sequence is the same.

Informant #7

Riddle 1: Huk runata maqanki, hayt'anki, saqmanki, mana wañunchu. Hayt'anki, saqmanki, mana wañunchu. Hayt'anki, saqmanki, mana wañunchu. Maypichus unu waykunki, hinaqa unupi wañurapun. Anchay imataq chay?

Solution: Chayqa manan imapaschu kunan unuman waykun chayqa manan imapaschu. Papel chullurapun. Wayra apan qhatanta qhatanta mana imapas anchayqa papelqa unu waykuspaga riki wañurapun. Anchaymi chayqa.

---

Riddle 2: "Ama ñoqataqa renegachiwankichu! Así es que renegachiwanki chaypi chayqa, ñoqaga, llaqta nina rupharusayki, carajo!" nispa nin. "Supay renegasun ñoqa kani!" nispa nin huk caballero. Ch'umpi sombreroyaq huk caballope sillariq hamun. Hinaspa nin chay, "Carajo, amapuni ñoqata renegachiwanki!" nispa nin anchay. Iman chay?

Solution: Chayqa nin. Vela hamun. Chay velaq ukhupi chay ninawan hap'iyachinkichis fosforowan anchayqa. Ruphawanchis. Anchaymi chay.

---

Riddle 3: Imasmaris, imasmaris kanman? Huk warmi muyushaspa kanmi lecherawan. Iman chay?

Solution: Rueca cuando hilamos. Puska hunt'arapun kay yachanchis.

---

Riddle 4: Imasmaris, imasmaris kanman? "Sikillaymanta tanqaway maykamapas muk'ullasaqmi," nispa nin huk uru chay. Iman chay?

Solution: Tijeras.

---

Riddle 5: Huk qhatamantan qhawamushan iskay ch'aska ñawicha. Ima chay?

Solution: Ñawiri qhawamushan qhatamanta.

---

Riddle 6: Huk tiendapi kan huk machasqa runakuna.  
 Hinaspa chay tiendamanta qhawamushan.  
 Ñinachakuna, enamorakumusunki. Iman chay?  
 Sinchita enamorakusunki, ñinachakuna. Askha  
 qhawamusunki. Ima chayri? Askha, askhapuni  
 qhawamusunki. Sinchita qanta enamorakusunki,  
 ñinachakuna. Iman chay?

Solution: Kiruykiyá chayqa.

---

Riddle 7: (Note: final part is indistinct).  
 Imasmaris, imasmaris kanman? Huk hatun orqo  
 qhatapi hatun pillu kashan . . .

Solution: Ninriyki chayqa.

---

Riddle 8: Imasmaris, imasmaris kanman? Ñataq p'unchay,  
 ñataq tuta, tukun hinas huk tawa o pisqa  
 chakiyoq ña tukun chay. Ima chay?

Solution: Chayqa sutin 'pachaq urucha'. Eso es sombra,  
 llanthu, pues.

---

Riddle 9: Imasmaris, imasmaris? Tarde, mañana --día.  
 La noche -- noche.

Solution: Por reloj, p'unchay. P'unchay --reloj rato.  
 Tarde --reloj rato. Por horas nin riki chay.

---

#### Informant #13

Riddle 1: Imasmari, imasmari? Iskay velludo, huk  
 q'alato.

Solution: La yunta.

---

Riddle 2: (Note: This is not strictly a riddle. but  
 rather a puzzle, or brain teaser).  
 Kinsa runa rinku llaqtata. Llaqta ñanta  
 rio crecerapusqa. Hinaspa mana imaynata  
 pasayta atinkuchu. Hinaspa chay rio cantopi  
 kasqa huk balsacha. Huk gordos iskay flacos  
 rinku. Solo balsallaqa aguantanman iskaynin  
 flacota kaspas, otaq sapallan gordo kaspas.  
 Imaynata pasankuman?



Solution: Primeroqa, iskaynin flaco pasarun. Chaymanta huk flaco kutiramun. Chaymanta gordoñataq pasarun. Chaymanta huk kaq chinpapi quedaq flaco kutirun. Hinaspa iskayninku pasarunku.

---

Informant #19

Riddle 1: Imasmaris, imasmaris kanman? Mana qalluyoq riman. Mana simiyoq riman. Imataq chay kanman?

Solution: qelqa.

---

Riddle 2: Ñaupaqmanta karan huk runa. Chay ñaupaqta puriyullan tawa chakiyoq. Chaymantaqa puriyullan iskay chakiyoq. Chaymanta puriyun kinsa chakiyoq. Ima chay kanman, a ver?

Solution: Chay karan chay warmiqa riki wawanta wachakun riki. Chay qatiyallan riki pampallamanta riki purin lat'aspalla. Chay kan tawa chakiyoq. Iskay chakiyoq maqt'a runañataq purin, iskay chakiyoq riki. Chay kinsa chakiyoq kan baston-ñawan purin riki, a ver na, abuelochallanan chayqa. Chaymi chay.

---

Informant #21

Riddle 1: Pequeñito como un raton, y guarda la casa como un leon. Que sera?

Solution: La llave y el candado.

---

Riddle 2: Un mulo cargado entra en un túnel y sale sin carga.

Solution: La cuchara, no? Y el bocado de la comida.

---

Informant #23

Riddle 1: Huk sipas kaq kasqa, hinas tusushaspas ichi-yukurin. Imas chay kanman?

Solution: Puska.

---

Informant #32

Riddle 1: Imasmari, imasmari, imataq? Huk hatun orqo  
puntamanta huk azulejo asno waqamushan.

Solution: Campana.

---

Riddle 2: Imasmari, imasmari, imataq? Iskay señoritakuna  
haqay chinpamanta kay lado chinpamanta asiyaka-  
mushanku.

Solution: Kirunchis.

---

Informant #36

Riddle 1: Sikiymanta tanqarillaway, purisaqcha maykamapas.

Solution: Tijeras.

---

Riddle 2: Huk punkunta haykuspa, iskay punkunta  
lloqsimusaq.

Solution: Quiere decir que te pones pantalón, no?  
Pantalón.

---

Riddle 3: Imasmari, imasmari? Wawan corralpi kashan,  
mamantaq rishan iskay cebolla aparisqa, tawa  
p'uyñu aparisqa.

Solution: Ese es una vaca lechera.

---

Informant #37

Riddle 1: Adivina adivinador. Maytataq, maytataq rinki?  
Maytataq purinki mamitayki kaniqtiin, waqaqtiin?  
Pasaspari, ripuspari y tariwaqchu mamitaykita?  
Que es? Imataq chay?

Solution: Es khuchi.

---

Riddle 2: Chinpai, chinpai unuta, chinpai unuta. Chinpai  
unuta mamitayki simiqtin. Maytaq rimayki?  
Maytaq rimayki? Chaypi kaqtin ripuqtin t'oqota  
pasasqa, mana niñowan mana kapusqachu. Imataq  
chay?

Solution: Es runa.

---



Informant #40

Riddle 1: Qaqa t'oqomanta puka t'oqomanta azulejo  
asno waqan.

Solution: Not supplied by the informant but from this informant's third riddle below, and from the similar riddle told by informant #32, the solution would appear to be a church bell.

---

Riddle 2: Imasmari, imasmari, imasmari, imataq?  
Puka qaqa sikimanta sisi lloqsimushantaq  
kutiyushantaq; lloqsimushantaq, kutiyushantaq.

Solution: Not supplied, but probably a church.

---

Riddle 3: Imasmari, imasmari, imataq? Puka qaqa  
qhatamanta azulejo asno, "Hauchis, hauchis,  
hauchis, hauchis, hauchis!" nispa waqan.  
Iman chay?

Solution: Chayqa naya iglesiaq campanan. Campanaqa  
riki, "Ban, ban," nishantaq. Anchaysi chay.

---

Riddle 4: Imasmari, imasmari, imataq? Pakallapi misk'i  
mikhuy chay riki.

Solution: Chayqa ñoqaqa nini imataq pakallapin misk'i  
mikhuyri kanman. Zonza, manachu entendinki?  
Wakaq lechenqa, wakaq lechenqa.

---

Riddle 5: Imasmari, imasmari, imataq? Azul gochatapas,  
puka gochatapas pasarqollasaqmi sikillaymanta  
tanqariway hina.

Solution: Not supplied, but by comparison with similar  
riddles told by informants #7 and #36 the  
answer is scissors.

---

Riddle 6: Imasmari, imasmari, imataq? Ch'ulla ñawi  
awa siragcha.

Solution: Not supplied but probably a needle.

---

Riddle 7: Imasmari, imasmari, imataq? Pachak ñawiyoy payacha.

Solution: Aqo suysuna, arena suysuna.

---

Riddle 8: Imasmari, imasmari, imataq? Uran p'ananan hawan chanchalita.

Solution: Not supplied, but may be some kind of digging stick, a stick used for threshing, or a grinder.

---

Informant #43:

Riddle 1: Imasmaris, imasmaris? "Ping pong," wichayman "Ping pong," urayman. Imataq chay?

Solution: Maran.

---

Informant #45:

Riddle 1: Imasmari, imasmari? Uyaykipi qosunki manataq rikunkichu. Imataq chay?

Solution: Wayra.

---

Riddle 2: Imasmari, imasmari? Iskay ninriyoq, hatun picoyoq. Imataq chay?

Solution: Tijeras.

---

Riddle 3: Imasmari, imasmari? Huch'uycha kani huk'ucha hina, wasita cuidani leon hina. Imataq chay?

Solution: Candado.

---

Riddle 4: Imasmari, imasmari? Iskay wayqentinchakuna kuskallapuni purinku. Machuña kaqtinku ñawinkuna kicharikun. Imataq chay?

Solution: Zapatos.

---



## APPENDIX III - SONGS

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Informant #9

Song 1: Carnaval de Apurimac

- 1 Chayraqmi chayraqmi chayayamushani,  
Chayraqmi chayraqmi chayayamushani,  
Chirillawan, wayrallawan, yanan chayakuspa,  
Chirillawan, wayrallawan, paris chayakuspa.
- 2 Chaymi niwan churi tayta mamaykiri,  
Chaymi niwan churi tayta mamaykiri,  
Soqospan tarirunqa tayta mamaykiri,  
Kullis pollerapi tayta mamaykiri.
- 3 Yau, yau, puka polleracha,  
Imatan ruranki saray ukhupi?  
Imatan ruranki trigoy ukhupi?
- 4 Mamaykimanmi willayamusaq,  
Taytaykimanmi willayamusaq,  
Trigoy ukhupi purisqaykita,  
Saray ukhupi purisqaykita.
- 5 Willaykamuyya', willaykamuyya',  
Chay pakakuni carnavalpiqa,  
Chay pakakuni carnavalpiqa.

Translation:

- 1 Recently I have come with the wind and the  
cold as her lover.  
Recently I have come with the wind and the  
cold now that the new maize is appearing.
- 2 And so your mother and father will call me  
their son.  
And so your mother and father will call me  
their son.  
And when they find me with the girl with the  
purple skirt they will drink merrily.
- 3 Hey there girl with the red skirt,  
What are you doing among my maize?  
What are you doing in my wheat?
- 4 I'll tell your mother,  
I'll tell your father,  
That you were in my wheat field,  
That you were in my corn field.
- 5 Tell them then, tell them then,  
I'll hide in the carnival,  
I'll hide in the carnival.



Informant #13

Song 1:

Silencio Wayq'opi

1

Silencio wayq'opi,  
 Mamay wachawasqa,  
 "Condorpas, sakchipas  
 Mikhushachun," nispa.  
 "P'atashachun," nispa.  
 Condorpas sakchipas  
 P'atallaytas pasan,  
 "Hijo desgraciado,  
 Sufrichunraq," nispa.  
 "Padeceyraq," nispa.

2

Mayupi challwapas  
 Vidanta pasansi,  
 Paykuna puralla  
 Nillayanakuspa,  
 Munaykanakuspa,  
 "Chaychus mana ñoqa  
 Vidayta pasayman,"  
 Parlayanakuspa,  
 Munayanakuspa.

Translation:

1

In the silent gorge  
 My mother gave birth to me.  
 "May the condor and the vulture  
 Eat him," she said.  
 "May they tear him apart," she said.  
 The condor and the vulture  
 Came by to peck me saying,  
 "May the wretched child suffer."  
 Saying, "Suffer still."

2

In the river the fish  
 Spend their lives  
 Speaking to each other,  
 And loving each other.  
 "I couldn't spend my life  
 Like that man's child,"  
 They said to each other,  
 Loving each other.

Song 2: Imapaq Munawaranki?

- 1           Imapaq munawaranki,  
              Hayk'ata waylluwaranki,  
              T'ankar kiskaschallay,  
              Morado malvaschallay,  
              Sapayta rikushawaspa,  
              Ch'ullayta qhawawashaspa,  
              T'ankar kiskaschallay,  
              Morado malvaschallay,  
              T'ankar kiskaschallay,  
              Morado malvaschallay?
- 2           Aswancha munawaq karqan,  
              Aswancha waylluwaq karqan,  
              T'ankar kiskaschallay,  
              Morado malvaschallay,  
              Punapi tarukitata,  
              Punapi wik'uñitata,  
              T'ankar kiskaschallay,  
              Morado malvaschallay,  
              T'ankar kiskaschallay,  
              Morado malvaschallay?
- 3           Punapi tarukitaqa,  
              Punapi wik'uñitaqa,  
              T'ankar kiskaschallay,  
              Morado malvaschallay,  
              Aychanta mikhuchisunki,  
              Qaranpi puñuchisunki,  
              T'ankar kiskaschallay,  
              Morado malvaschallay,  
              T'ankar kiskaschallay,  
              Morado malvaschallay.

## Translation:

- 1           Why did you love me,  
              And how much did you care for me,  
              My little t'ankar thorn,  
              My little purple malva,  
              When you saw me all alone,  
              And all by myself?
- 2           Perhaps, my little t'ankar thorn,  
              My little purple malva,  
              You'd have better loved,  
              And better cared for  
              The deer and the vicuna  
              Of the high plains?



3

The deer and the vicuna  
Of the high plains,  
My little t'ankar thorn,  
My little purple malva,  
Afford you their meat to eat,  
And their skins to sleep on.

## Song 3:

Orqo Labras Chanpi

- 1 Orqo labras chanpi,  
Pukuy pukuycito,  
Orqo labras chanpi,  
Pukuy pukuycito,  
Khuyaytas waqashan,  
Sapan rikukuspa,  
Khuyaytas llakishan,  
Sapan rikukuspa.
- 2 Chaychus mana ñoqa,  
Mana waqaymanchu,  
Chaychus mana ñoqa,  
Mana llakiymanchu,  
Kay karu llaqtapi,  
Sapay rikukuspa,  
Kay karu llaqtapi,  
Sapay rikukuspa.
- 3 Manas mamay kanchu,  
Manas taytay kanchu,  
Manas mamay kanchu,  
Manas taytay kanchu,  
Sapallaysi kani,  
Kay runaq llaqtanpi,  
Sumaqllaysi kani,  
Kay karu llaqtapi.
- 4 Mamitay hinata niwaran,  
"Amapunin waqankichu!  
Sapayki," hinata niwaran,  
"Amapuni waqankichu!  
Hina sapayki rikukuspa,  
Amapuni waqankichu!  
Hina sapayki rikukuspa,  
Amapuni llakinkichu!"

## Translation:

- 1 On the mountain side,  
The little bird cries sadly,  
And mourns because he is all alone.
- 2 I couldn't cry like that,  
Or be sad like that,  
Even though I'm alone in this distant city.
- 3 I have no mother or father,  
And I'm all alone in this city of men,  
But I'm doing well in this city so far from home.



4

My mother told me this,  
"Never cry when you find yourself alone.  
Never be sad when you find yourself alone!"

Informant #14

Song 1:

Qesan chinkachiq urpi kikillan,  
 Maskhamusqayki songoy k'irisqan,  
 Ichas yanaywan tinkuyman nispan,  
 Yanallantapas maskhaykunaypaq.

2

Qosqo pirisqa tinkusqa,  
 Maras kachiwan tinkusqan,  
 Pitañataqmi kiskanki,  
 Noqata hayarqowaspan?  
 Pitañataqmi kiskanki,  
 Noqata hayarqowaspan?  
 Siusau, songo ruruschallay,  
 Manay mamanta, tunpaqmasischallay.

Translation:

Little dove, who yourself have lost your nest,  
 With a broken heart I seek you.  
 In order that I can look for a lover,  
 I tell myself that perhaps I will find my love.

2

I have encountered the hot peppers of Cuzco,  
 And the salt of Maras.  
 Who now are you tormenting,  
 Now that you have embittered me?  
 Who now are you tormenting,  
 Now that you have embittered me?



Song 2: Llaqtachaymanta

1 Llaqtachaymanta lloqsiramurani,  
 Wasichaymanta lloqsiramurani,  
 Ch'ullachayllata waqarukusqa,  
 Ch'ullachayllata llakirukusqa,  
 Chay waqasqaysi kausariykarusqa,  
 Chay waqasqaysi kausariykarusqa,  
 Tawa mayuman tukurunanpaq,  
 Pisqa mayuman tukurunanpaq.  
 Ay, ay, ay, ama waqaychu!  
 Ay, ay, ay, ama llakiychu!

## Translation:

2 I Left My Town

I left my town,  
 And I left my home.  
 Being all alone, I wept.  
 Being all alone, I became sad.  
 Those tears of mine lived on,  
 Those tears of mine lived on,  
 To become four rivers,  
 To become five rivers.

Song 3: Chumbivilcas Plazamanta

- 1 Santo Tomas Plazamanta  
 Qanrí imatataq apakamushanki?  
 Santo Tomas Plazamanta  
 Qanrí imatataq apakamushanki?  
 Noqas eso siqa apakamushayki:  
 Punchuypa kantonpi toroq thaltachanta.  
 Noqas eso siqa apakamushayki:  
 Punchuypa kantonpi toroq thaltachanta.
- 2 Toro toreador maqt'ataqa  
 Ama munankichu, urpillay, sonqollay!  
 Toro toreador maqt'ataqa,  
 Ama munankichu, urpillay sonqollay!  
 Toroq wakrachanpi wañurakapuspa,  
 Llapa wawantinta choqatamusunki.  
 Toroq wakrachanpi wañurakapuspa,  
 Llapa wawantinta choqatamusunki.

## Translation:

From the Bull Ring in Chumbivilcas

- 1 What are you bringing me from the  
 Bullring in Santo Tomas?  
 What are you bringing me from the  
 Bullring in Santo Tomas?  
 This is what I'm bringing you  
 from the bullring:  
 The bull's saliva on the edge  
 of my poncho.  
 The bull's saliva on the edge  
 of my poncho.
- 2 Don't fall in love with a bullfighter,  
 My little dove, my love!  
 Don't fall in love with a bullfighter,  
 My little dove, my love!  
 For if he dies on the bull's horns,  
 He'll abandon you with all his children.  
 For if he dies on the bull's horns,  
 He'll abandon you with all his children.



Song 4: Chumbivilcas Pacha Mama

- 1 Chumbivilcas, pacha maman,  
Napaykuykin tukuy songo,  
Kay wawayki, yachay munaq,  
Sutiykita yupaychaspan.
- 2 Qori lazon ergekunan,  
Hatun orqoq rit'in hinan,  
Ch'uyanchasun songonchistan,  
Ñuñu yuyay kananchispan.
- 3 Escuelapin, purunpipas,  
Tukuy kallpawan llank'ashanin,  
Peruninchis, pacha maman,  
Sutiykita yupaychaspan.
- 4 Chumbivilcas tierra querida,  
Chumbivilcas tierra amada,  
Por tí estudio, por tí trabajo,  
Por tí estudio, por tí trabajo.
- 5 Quiero ceñir tu linda frente,  
Quiero ceñir tu linda frente,  
Con el laurel de tu victoria,  
Con el laurel de tu victoria.

Translation: Chumbivilcas Mother Earth

- 1 Chumbivilcas, mother earth,  
With all my heart, I a child of yours,  
Bow down before you,  
And honour your name.
- 2 Boys who bear the name, "Golden Lasso",  
Let us purify our hearts,  
Like the snow of the high mountain,  
So that we may be lit by the fires  
of sweet knowledge.
- 3 In the school, and in the barren lands,  
I work with all my strength,  
Praising your name,  
Peru, our mother earth.
- 4 Chumbivilcas, beloved land,  
Chumbivilcas, beloved land,  
I study and I work for your sake,  
I study and I work for your sake.

5

I want to gird your sweet brow,  
With the laurel of victory,  
I want to gird your sweet brow,  
With the laurel of victory.



Informant #15 and Informant #23

Song 1: Solo sung by Informant #15

- 1
 

Much'away, much'away,  
 Imilla, ñoqa much'asqayki.  
 Much'away, much'away,  
 Imilla, ñoqa much'asqayki.  
 Ama hinawaychu, lloqhallo.  
 Déjate nomás, pues, imilla.  
 Ama hinawaychu, lloqhallo.  
 Déjate nomás, pues, imilla.
- 2
 

Lluchikuy, lluchikuy,  
 Imilla, minifaldaykita.  
 Lluchikuy, lluchikuy,  
 Imilla, minifaldaykita.  
 Ama hinawaychu, lloqhallo.  
 Déjate nomás, pues, imilla.  
 Ama hinawaychu, lloqhallo.  
 Déjate nomás, pues, imilla.
- 3
 

Ch'utikuy, ch'utikuy,  
 Lloqhallo, pantalonniykita.  
 Ch'utikuy, ch'utikuy,  
 Lloqhallo, pantalonniykita.  
 Ama hinawaychu, imilla.  
 Déjate nomás, pues, lloqhallo.  
 Ama hinawaychu, imilla.  
 Déjate nomás, pues, lloqhallo.

## Translation:

- 1
 

Kiss me, girl, and I'll kiss you.  
 Kiss me, girl, and I'll kiss you.  
 Don't do this to me, boy.  
 Just forget it then, girl.  
 Don't do this to me, boy.  
 Just forget it then, girl.
- 2
 

Take off your mini-skirt, girl.  
 Take off your mini-skirt, girl.  
 Don't do this to me, boy.  
 Forget it then girl.  
 Don't do this to me, boy.  
 Forget it then girl.

3

Take off your pants, boy.  
Take off your pants, boy.  
Don't do this to me, girl.  
Just forget it then, boy.  
Don't do this to me, girl.  
Just forget it then, boy.



Song 2: Duet Sung by Both #15 and #23

1           Color, color unkhuñachay,  
               Amama kutinkichu.  
               Color, color unkhunachay,  
               Amama kutinkichu,  
               Arapa malvachakuna  
               Suwaramunaykama,  
               Arapa qochakuna  
               Suwaramunaykama.  
               Puskaspa, k'antispa,  
               Qanpaq ruwashani  
               Munay ponchochata.  
               Munaway, waylluway  
               Ñoqa sapallayta,  
               Sapa ñoqallayta.

Translation:

Boy with the coloured cloth,  
 Don't return  
 While I'm stealing  
 The purple flowers of Arapa.  
 And the lakes of Arapa.  
 Having spun the thread,  
 I am making a beautiful poncho for you.  
 Love me, and care for me,  
 Just me, and only me.

Song 3: Solo Sung by #23

Puka Pantipariwana

- 1 Haqay wichayta qan paskawariy,  
Pukay pantipariwana,  
Yanallayoqta, torallayoqta,  
Pukay pantipariwana.
- 2 ~  
Noqallaymanta, sapallaymantas,  
Pukay pantipariwana,  
Runaq wawanta munayurani,  
Pukay pantipariwana.
- 3 Nitaq mamaychu, nitaq taytaychu,  
Pukay pantipariwana.  
Todo recuerdo desaparece.  
Pukay pantipariwana,  
Como las olas de la laguna,  
Pukay pantipariwana.

Translation: Red Flamingo

- 1 Release me to reach the heights,  
Red flamingo,  
To have just a brother, a lover,  
Red flamingo.
- 2 I, by my own will,  
Red flamingo,  
Loved the man's son,  
Red flamingo.
- 3 I have no father of mother,  
Red flamingo,  
All memory of them has disappeared,  
Red flamingo,  
Like the waves on a lake.



Informant #26

Song 1: Amas, wauqe, chinkankichu,  
Chinka, chinka,  
Asno chutaq p'asñawanqa,  
Chinkaykuy, chinkaykuy,  
Chinkaykuy, chinkaykuy.

2 Amas, wauqe, chinkankichu,  
Chinka, chinka,  
Rogota vendeq p'asñawanqa,  
Chinkaykuy, chinkaykuy,  
Chinkaykuy, chinkaykuy.

3 Amas, panay, chinkankichu,  
Chinka, chinka,  
Q'ellu medias maqt'awanqa,  
Chinkaykuy, chinkaykuy,  
Chinkaykuy, chinkaykuy.

4 Amas, wauqe, chinkankichu,  
Chinka, chinka,  
Yana maqt'a p'asñawanqa,  
Chinkaykuy, chinkaykuy,  
Chinkaykuy, chinkaykuy.

## Translation:

1 Brother, don't run off,  
Run off, run off,  
With the girl with the donkey,  
Run off, run off,  
Run off, run off.

2 Brother, don't run off,  
Run off, run off,  
With the girl who sells peppers,  
Run off, run off,  
Run off, run off.

3 Sister, don't run off,  
Run off, run off,  
With the boy with the yellow stockings,  
Run off, run off,  
Run off, run off.

4 Brother, don't run off,  
Run off, run off,  
With the girl who has a lover,  
Run off, run off,  
Run off, run off.

Informant #27

- Song 1: Tutalla visitamushayki,  
Sirenitay,  
Runaq siminta manchaspa,  
Sirenitay.  
Tutalla visitamushayki,  
Sirenitay  
Runaq siminta manchaspa,  
Sirenitay.
- 2 Runaq simiri simichu,  
Sirenitay,  
Peor que cuchillo, navaja,  
Sirenitay?  
Runaq simiri simichu,  
Sirenitay,  
Peor que cuchillo, navaja,  
Sirenitay?
- 3 Hakuchu purirakamusun,  
Sirenitay,  
Taytayki puñushanankama,  
Sirenitay,  
Hakuchu purirakamusun,  
Sirenitay,  
Mamayki puñushanankama,  
Sirenitay.
- 4 Taytaykiri chayaramuqtinqa,  
Sirenitay,  
Mamaykiri chayaramuqtinqa,  
Sirenitay,  
Noqata, "Señorcha, toracha," niwanki,  
Sirenitay,  
Qantataq, "Panacha," nisqayki,  
Sirenitay.
- 5 Taytaykiri chayaramuqtinqa,  
Sirenitay,  
Mamaykiri chayaramuqtinqa,  
Sirenitay,  
Noqata, "Señorcha, toracha," niwanki,  
Sirenitay,  
Qantataq, "Panacha," nisqayki,  
Sirenitay.



- Translation: I'll visit you at night,  
Little siren,  
Afraid of what people might say,  
Little siren.  
I'll visit you at night,  
Little siren,  
Afraid of what people might say,  
Little siren.
- 2 Aren't a man's words,  
Little siren,  
Worse than a knife,  
Little siren?  
Aren't a man's words,  
Little siren,  
Worse than a knife,  
Little siren.
- 3 Come then, let's make off,  
Little siren,  
While your father is asleep,  
Little siren.  
Come then, let's make off,  
Little siren,  
While your mother is asleep,  
Little siren.
- 4 And should your father come along,  
Little siren,  
And should your mother come along,  
Little siren,  
Say I'm your brother,  
Little siren,  
And I'll say you're my sister,  
Little siren.
- 5 And should your father come along,  
Little siren,  
And should your mother come along,  
Little siren,  
Say I'm your brother,  
Little siren,  
And I'll say you're my sister,  
Little siren.

Informant #28

- Song 1: Ay cintita, cinta, tengo sentimiento,  
 Ay cintita, cinta, tengo sentimiento,  
 Manaña willayukuymán kay sentimentoyta,  
 Manaña willayukuymán kay sentimentoyta.
- 2 Mamayman willayman, asipayawanman,  
 Taytayman willayman, kusipayawanman,  
 Aswancha willayukuymán qaqaman, mayuman,  
 Aswancha willayukuymán qaqaman, mayuman.
- 3 Mayu qharapanman<sup>1</sup> mana rimaríspa,  
 Haqay calleteman mana muyuríspa,  
 Chaymancha tukurukunman kay sentimentoyqa,  
 Chaymancha tukurukunman kay sentimentoyqa.

## Translation:

- 1 Ay little ribbon, I have a feeling,  
 Ay little ribbon, I have a feeling,  
 But now I couldn't let this feeling of mine  
 be known,  
 But now I couldn't let this feeling of mine  
 be known.
- 2 If I told my mother she would laugh at me.  
 If I told my father he would mock me.  
 Perhaps it would be better to tell the rocks  
 and the river.  
 Perhaps it would be better to tell the rocks  
 and the river.
- 3 If I don't tell the river . . . ,  
 If I don't go round and round that street  
 broadcasting it,  
 Then, perhaps, my feeling will end there,  
 Then, perhaps, my feeling will end there.

---

<sup>1</sup>The transcription and meaning of this word  
 are unclear.



Anonymous Informant (male - age unknown)

Song 1: This song is a much more hispanized version  
of that sung by the previous informant (#28).

1 Ay cintita, cinta, tengo un sentimiento,  
Ay cintita, cinta, tengo un sentimiento,  
De haberte querido tanto, sin conocimiento,  
De haberte querido tanto, sin conocimiento.

2 Mamayman willaykukuymán, kusipayawanman,  
Taytayman willaykukuymán, asipayawanman,  
Mejorcha willaykukuymán verde olivoman,  
Mejorcha willaykukuymán verde olivoman.

## Translation:

1 Ay little ribbon, I have a feeling,  
Ay little ribbon, I have a feeling,  
Of having loved you so much without knowing you,  
Of having loved you so much without knowing you.

2 I could tell my mother, but she would mock me,  
I could tell my father, but he would laugh at me.  
Perhaps it would be better to tell the green  
olive tree.  
Perhaps it would be better to tell the green  
olive tree.

Informant #37

## Song 1:

Soleschallay

- 1 Soleschallay, soles,  
Tustunchallay, tustun,  
Maytan tiendapitaq,  
Cambiachisqayki,  
Sencillachisqayki?
- 2 Esquina tiendayoq  
"Hamuyki," niwaran.  
"Tragota vinota  
Tomasun," niwaran,  
"Ukyasun," niwaran.
- 3 Imas tomashayman  
Manas yachasqaywan?  
Hayk'as tomashayman  
Mana ukyasqaywan?
- 4 Tragochapi paskakuy,  
Baulchapi paskakuy,  
Siempre, yanay, takay,  
Yanaymi nillasaqmi.
- 5 Tienda plazachapi,  
Toroscha pukllashan  
Puka vendermanta,  
Q'omer vendermanta.
- 6 Hakuchu niñochay,  
Purirakamusun,  
Wawanchis wañuqtin,  
Pusaq kananchispaq.
- 7 Hakuchu niñochay,  
Purirakamusun,  
Wawanchis wañuqtin,  
Pusaq kananchispaq.

## Translation:

My Little Soles

- 1 My little soles,  
My little tustun,  
Which store shall I go to  
To get change for you,  
To get change for you?



- 2           The store owner said to me,  
            "I am coming to you.  
            We shall drink together.  
            We shall drink together."
- 3           What should I drink  
            If I don't know anything about it?  
            How much should I drink  
            If I have never drunk before?
- 4           Take refuge in drink,  
            Or hide in a trunk,  
            Still knock on my door, my love,  
            And I'll say you're my lover.
- 5           In the square in front of the store,  
            The little bull is playing  
            With the red cloth  
            And the green cloth.
- 6           Come, boy,  
            Let us be off,  
            So we can be eight  
            If our children die.
- 7           Come, boy,  
            Let us be off,  
            So we can be eight  
            If our children die.

APPENDIX IV - NON-TRADITIONAL  
NARRATIVE

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Informant #32Narrative about the Traditional Bullfight

- 1 Kunan wata, por ejemplo, huk vecinonchis cargota hap'in watapaq, fiesta ruwananpaq, o sea hap'in toros ruwananpaq. Wata chayamunanpaq chay cargo-
- 5 kunata mink'akun, chaymanta chay runakunawan mink'-asqa ahina, imaymanata ruwan fiesta ruwananpaq.  
Chaymanta chay fiesta p'unchau chayamunanpaq haykunku llaqtata maypis fiestata ruwanqaku chayman. Askha pandillada runakuna.
- 10 Chaymantataq kunan llaqtapitaq huk sitiopaq estacionakuspataq chaypi fiestata ruwanku. Chaymantataq chay tardenqa chay kanchaman paganku, maypis corrida de toros kanga chay kanchaman maypis toro pukllanqa anchay kanchaman, chay 'plaza'
- 15 nisqa kanchaman.  
Chaymanta chay siguiente diasnintataq torokunataq apamuqkuna, torokuna apamuqkunapas mink'-asqa chay torokunata qatimunku askha runakunaqa imaymana partemanta. Torokunata apamunku, ima
- 20 huch'uychata, hatunta, hatun torokunata. Chaymantataq ahina huk kanchonpi depositanku chay torokunataqa. Chaymantan chay cargoyoq runaqa watachimun tranquillata. Chaymanta tranquillata watachimuspataq runakunaman invitan tragota.
- 25 Chaymanta chaykunata invitaspataq almorzachiq apan.  
Chaymanta llapa fiestaman tardeñaqtaqta kan toro corridamanqa na lloqsimunku las doce de la tardeta hinaña, mediodía p'unchauta hinaña riki.  
Chaymantataq torota lasunku, primer torota
- 30 chayman haykumun chay fiestayoy enjalmata watakun wasanman. Chaymanta chay toroq chupanmanpas watalankutaq enjalmata, chay enjalmaqa ahina telamanta sumaq, kusiona, adornokunayoq. Chaymanta toro pukllaqta chaymanta kachayumuqtinku chay fiesta
- 35 ruwaq torota capean, chayman toros pués narapun, wakarapun. Chaymanta chay machasqa runakunapas wapu haykun kanchaman anchaypi wakarayachikunku hina en la tardetaqa fiestata ruwallanku llapan. Chaymanta toros pukllay tukupaspataq kacharpariyta
- 40 ruwayunku, kacharpariyta ruwaspataq lliu machayunku chaypi chay fiestaqa tukukapun.

## Translation:

This year, for example, one of our neighbours takes charge of organizing the fiesta for the coming year, of putting on the bullfight. Before the year is up, the man in charge has to do all sorts of things like getting

together chicha and alcohol. He enlists the help of other people, and together they do all the things necessary to put on the fiesta.

As the day of the fiesta approaches, the people, in large numbers, all excited and happy, come into the town where the fiesta is to be held.

Once in the town, the people all congregate in one place and begin their merry-making. That afternoon, they make an offering to the ring where the bullfight is to be held, to the place where they will play the bulls, to the 'plaza'.

Next, the following day the men who have been put in charge of getting the bulls, go and round them up from all over the place. Lots of men bring the bulls which are of all shapes and sizes: big ones, little ones . . . Once they are all rounded up, then the men put the bulls into a corral, then the man in charge of the fiesta bolts the gate to the corral. Once this is done, he invites the men to have a drink, and then he takes them off to have lunch.

About midday, everybody comes out to hold the fiesta, and to enjoy the bullfight.

They lasso the first bull, and the man in charge of the fiesta comes out and ties a rosette to the bull's back. They also tie one to the bull's tail. The rosette is made out of cloth, and is prettily decorated. Once this is done, and they have released the bull to be played, the participant plays it with his cape; the bull charges the cape with his horns. Later on, men who have got themselves drunk jump into the ring full of false courage and make the bull attack them with his horns. this is how they all hold the fiesta with the bulls in the afternoon. When the corrida is over, the people hold the departure ceremonies. They all get drunk, and then the fiesta ends.



Narrative about the

Cutting of Thatch and the Roofing of a House

- 1 Ahina, napi, Villillipi kunan askha runakuna  
wasita ruwakunku. Hinaspa kunan kay paray  
tiempopiqa ichhuta rutumuyta kachayunku llipinku.  
Hina apamunku ayni ayni, hinaspa apamuspa caballo-  
5 pi kan, sapankanku apakamun. Chaymantaq chay-  
mantataq wasinkupi . . . wasinkuman chayachimuspa-  
taq ahina ichhutaqa lliu wakinwankunaqa q'eswan,  
wakintaq qharikunataq alistan nananpaq wasi  
techananpaq pajata riki hinata ichhuta nanku . . .  
10 sacudinku. Chaymanta sacudispataq; wasi pataman  
huk aypachin, hukpas huk techo patapi sayaykushan  
chay aypaspa tapanku wasita riki. Chaymanta  
q'eswakunata pasanku warmikuna chay rumichakunawan  
watanku wasi patapi mana viento apananpaq chay  
15 ichhuta.
- Chaymantataq chayta tukuspataq kunan  
cruzta riki ruwanku k'aspichamanta, o bien fierro-  
chamantapas. Chayta kunan padrinoqa chay cruz-  
chata apan. Chaymantataq padrinoqa hap'inku,  
20 ahina tomachinku, t'inkanku, wasita tusunku,  
takinku.
- Chaymanta kunan tutatataq yanqa maqayanaku-  
yta qallarinku may vecinopiqa hina hukllaman mana  
imallamanta hina maqayanakunku. Chaymanta yapa-  
25 manta amistayaranakuspa tomayullankutaq hermanontin  
hina.
- Chaymanta kunan chaymanta tutamantataq lliu  
chakrata pasanku trabajaq. Wakinkunataq uywachan-  
nkuta apanku campoman pastiyamushanku, uywachanku-  
30 ta michimunku. Hinaspa kunan chay llapa p'unchay  
chay wasi techaq runachakunaqa onqosqa wakinqa.  
Wakinku uma t'oqosqa. Makinkunan p'akirarisqa.  
Wakinku waqtanpi hayt'aranakun. Wakinku ahina  
señorawan maqanarukullantaq chay mankata p'aki-  
35 runku. Chaykunan takayanakunku llapa semanantin  
yaqa

Translation:

Well, up in Villilli, these days there are lots off people who build their own houses. In the rainy season, they all see that the ichhu grass is cut. The neighbours all help each other out. Each one brings the ichhu on horseback. When they get to their houses, they use some of the ichhu to make ropes while the men get the rest ready - they shake it out - to thatch the roof. Once the grass has been shaken, one man waits on the roof and has the other hand him up the thatch; this way, they cover the house. Next, the women hand

the men up ropes weighted with stones so that the wind won't blow the roof off.

When the roof has been finished, they make a cross out of sticks or metal. The godfather is in charge of bringing this. The householders take him and offer him drinks. They sprinkle an offering on the ground, and then they dance and sing in the house.

Later, come nightfall, for no reason at all they all begin to fight, one neighbour with another, over nothing of any consequence; they just fight. As quickly as they fall out, they make friends again, and drink like brothers.

Early the next morning, they all go off to the fields to work. Some take their animals out to the fields to graze. Every day more or less, somebody involved in roofing a house gets hurt. Some fall and split open their heads. Others break an arm. Some have a fight and get kicked in the ribs. Others fight with their wives and pots get broken. Just about every week they come to blows over something!



Narrative about the Planting and Harvesting of Potatoes

- 1 Papata ahinaqa cosecha tiempo papata lliuta  
cosecharunku cantomanta papataqa. Chaymanta-  
taq montonarunku. Chaymanta akllayta kachayu-  
nku simillantakama, lliuta simillanta sumaq  
5 mana kuruchayoq manayoqta hina. Ahina kunan  
papata akllarunku lliuta q'alachanta papachata  
simillata allma guardarunku ahina ichhu ukhu-  
chapi tapasqata allin papa tarpuy tiempo chaya-  
munankama.
- 10 Chayan papa tarpuy tiempo, chayamuqtintaq,  
aqhata aqhakunku, runata mink'akunku papa tarpu-  
munankupaq ahina papa tarpuy tiempopi. Hinaspa  
chaymantataq fiambreta ruwanku, papata ruwan,  
papa . . . ahina rumikuna, llant'akuna kan,  
15 chayta limpianku chayta rumichanku lliuta.  
Hinaspa chaymantataq wikch'unku, wakin kananku  
chay llant'akunata rumikunataq montonanku.
- 20 Hinaspan papataqa warmi papata ahina  
llikllapi watakun cinturaman, qharitaq takllawan  
hayt'an pampata. Anchay papataqa sembranku,  
ahinata tarpunku papata. Chaymantataq kunan  
tarpuyta tupaspan tarpushanku ahina paykuna  
chaymanta qhepatataq rin, qhepatataq rin huk  
chicapas o huk maqt'achapas huk k'upanawan  
25 k'upaspa wachunta wachunta. Chaymanta papa  
tarpuy t'uruta ahina mikhuyuspa ripunku.

Translation:

At harvest time, the people harvest their potatoes. Then they pile them all up. The next job is to choose the potatoes to be used for seed potatoes: all of these must be without worms or any blemishes. Once the seed potatoes have been selected, they are covered with ichhu grass and kept until the time for planting comes around.

When the time for sowing arrives, chicha is made, and everybody is rounded up to help out with the sowing. The women prepare food for the workers . . . Before sowing the potatoes, one of the jobs the people do is to clear the fields of sticks and stones. The sticks are taken by some of the workers and burned, while the stones are placed in a pile.

The women tie the potatoes up in their shawls which are tied around their waists. The men take their digging sticks and break up the ground. Then they plant the potatoes. Once they have done this, and the potatoes are planted, a little boy or girl follows behind, going from furrow to furrow, and covers over the potatoes with earth. Eating as they go, the people trudge home through the mud, once the job of planting is done.



Informant #38Narrative about the Fox

- 1 Huk zorro orqokunapi tiyan ichhu ichhupi, chay  
ichhu ichhupi. Ñoqa huch'uyllaraq kashaspa ovejata  
qatiq kani, hinas papayoq qatini ñoqa ovejata.  
Hinaspa michimuqmi kani orqokunapi ovejata. Hinas  
5 chaypi zorroqa qhawamuq chayaykun chhayna rumi pata-  
kunamanta. Hinas rikhurun chayta ras, hinas  
kiruypi nawan khatata khatata mana rimariytapas  
atinichu. Y chayllapi pakarukun zorroqa con huk  
alqontin; ñoqa michiq rini alqontin orqokunata  
10 ovejayuni, qatiyuni, qatisqa rini michiq. Hinas  
chaypi zorro mikhun, ovejakunata mikhun, uñacha-  
kunallata. Mikhun uñachakunallata much'unmanta;  
chayta kunparun y apariykapun hinas mikhun. Hinas  
alqotaq rikun y chay qatin mana alqoqa taripanchu,  
15 mana imaymananchu pakarukun alqoqa. Hinas chay  
zorroqa ovejata mikhun, uña ovejachakunata mikhun.  
Chayllawanmi chay zorroqa wiñan, y kanpis chaylla-  
wan. Chay ovejakunallata mikhun chay zorro,  
uñachakunata. Chay orqollapin tiyan ichhukunapi,  
20 chay pakasqallan tiyan. Ovejata makillanan qhawan.  
Mana tarin ovejata chay huk ladokunaman rin karukuna-  
man maskhaq ovejata, oveja mikhunanpaq.

## Translation:

The fox lives up in the mountains in the ichhu grass. When I was still very young, I'd go with my father as he herded the sheep. I'd be up in the mountains looking after the sheep and the fox would come creeping over the rocks to look for something to steal. When he appeared, my teeth would start to chatter, and I'd not be able to speak. The fox would hide among the dogs, for I'd have dogs with me when I went to herd the sheep. The fox would eat the sheep, especially the lambs. He'd catch the lambs by the nape of the neck, knock them down, carry them off, and eat them. The dog would see him, and set off in pursuit, but he'd lose him. The dog could do nothing so he'd go and hide. And so the fox would eat the sheep, and that's how he'd live; he'd eat the lambs. He lives up in the mountains in the ichhu grass where he hides. He doggedly seeks out the sheep and is ready to steal them whenever he can find them. If he doesn't find sheep in one place, he'll go long distances elsewhere until he does, so he can eat them.



Narrative about the Condor

- 1 Condor es huk animal hatun, hatun chhachu pharpa-  
kunayoq y . . . chhachu pharpakunayoq, hatun picoyoq.  
Kunkanpi, cuellonpi kan huk yuraq hina, yuraq hina, y  
yana entero, hatun nayoq, hatun nayoq, hatun picoyoq  
5 chay condor. Chay condorta altollanta chay purin  
altollanta makillaña qhawan una wakachakunata.  
Chay wakachakunatan mikhun chay condor. Kay phawamanta  
gallarín chayta mikhuramun, kunparapun wañurachipun  
q'alata tukuyta yachan chayqa. Chayqa chay condorqa  
10 o waka mikhuqmi chay uñachakunata mikhun chay condor,  
hina chay condormi. Chayllawanmi chay condorpas  
kallantaqsi zorro hina. Chayllawan kausan y may  
ñanta chay condor. Y rumi ukhupin chay condorqa  
tiyan, huk t'oqo ukhukunapi tiyan. Chay condor,  
15 millay condor makillañan chayta runakuna, chay  
uywaq michiq runakuna qhawanku chay condorta. Maki-  
llaña qhawanku chay condorta. Makillaña qhawanku  
chay altonta purimushan. Chhachu wakanta qatanku  
nawan huk pollokunawan qatanku manan mikhunanpaq  
20 uñachata. Makillaña qhawan chay qhawashallaña condor  
chay uñachata mikhunanpaq, wañurachinanpaq. Hinas  
chaychus sichus chay uñachata hap'irun y mikhunan  
chay q'alachata tukun condor.

## Translation:

The condor is a big animal with large feathered wings, and a big beak. The condor has a large beak; his neck is white and the rest of his body is all black. The condor flies high in the sky searching carefully for calves, for that is what the condor eats. The condor drops down from the sky onto the calf, knocks it down, kills it, and eats it. He knows how to finish it off. The condor, then, eats cattle and especially calves. This is how he lives; he's like the fox. He lives in this way and he goes where he pleases. His home is in a cave. The men, those who have sheep and cattle, take care to keep an eye out for the condor flying high in the sky. They cover the calf with an old cow, or with chickens so that the condor won't see him and eat him. If he succeeds in snatching one and eating it, the condor finishes it all, leaving nothing.

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